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ABSTRACT

Conference papers examine efforts by Indigenous communities, particularly Native American communities, to maintain and revitalize their languages. The 27 papers are: "Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Maori: The Language Is the Life Essence of Maori Existence" (Te Tuhi Robust); "The Preservation and Use of Our Languages: Respecting the Natural Order of the Creator" (Verna J. Kirkness); "Maori: New Zealand Latin?" (Timoti S. Karetu); "Using Indigenous Languages for Teaching and Learning in Zimbabwe" (Juliet Thondhlana); "Language Planning in a Trans-National Speech Community" (Geneva Langworthy); "The Way of the Drum: When Earth Becomes Heart" (Grafton Antone, Lois Provost Turchetti); "The Need for an Ecological Cultural Community" (Robert N. St. Clair, John A. Busch); "Building a Community Language Development Team with Quebec Naskapi" (Bill Jancewicz, Marguerite MacKenzie, George Guanish, Silas Nabinicaboo); "Methods of Madness: The Tuscarora Language Committee" (Francene Patterson); "Daghida: Cold Lake First Nation Works towards Dene Language Revitalization" (Heather Blair, Sally Rice, Valerie Wood, John Janvier); "The Jicarilla Apache Language Summer Day Camp" (Maureen Olson); "Report on the Workshop 'World of Inuktitut'" (Janet McGrath); "Awakening the Languages: Challenges of Enduring Language Programs; Field Reports from 15 Programs from Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma" (Mary S. Linn, Tessie Naranjo, Sheilah Nicholas, Inee Slaughter, Akira Yamamoto, Ofelia Zepeda); "A Native Language Immersion Program for Adults: Reflections on Year 1" (David Kanatawakhon Maracle, Merle Richards); "The Importance of Women's Literacy in Language Stabilization Projects" (Jule Gomez de Garcia, Maureen Olson, Melissa Axelrod); "Teaching Reading with Puppets" (Ruth Bennett); "Assessing Lakota Language Teaching Issues on the Cheyenne River Reservation" (Marion BlueArm); "Incorporating Traditional Nehiyaw/Plains Cree Education in the University" (Myron Paskemin, Donna Paskemin); "Collecting Texts in Craho and Portuguese for Teaching" (Sueli Maria de Souza); "Early

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Vocabularies and Dictionary Development: A Cautionary Note" (Blair A. Rudes); "The Process of Spelling Standardization of Innu-Aimun (Montagnais)" (Anne-Marie Baraby); "Maintaining Indigenous Languages in North America: What Can We Learn from Studies of Pidgins and Creoles?" (Anne Goodfellow, Pauline Alfred); "Ojibway Hockey CD ROM in the Making" (Shirley I. Williams); "The Use of Multimedia and the Arts in Language Revitalization, Maintenance, and Development: The Case of the Balsas Nahuas of Guerreo, Mexico" (Jose Antonio Flores Farfan); "The Languages of Indigenous Peoples in Chukotka and the Media" (Galina Diatchkova); "Language Revitalization Using Multimedia" (Peter Brand, John Elliott, Ken Foster); and "Meeting of the Inuktitut and Yup'ik Family of Languages, May 12, 2000" (Guy Delorme, Jacques Raymond). (SV)

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Barbara Jane Burnaby, Editor
Jon Allan Reyhner, Editor

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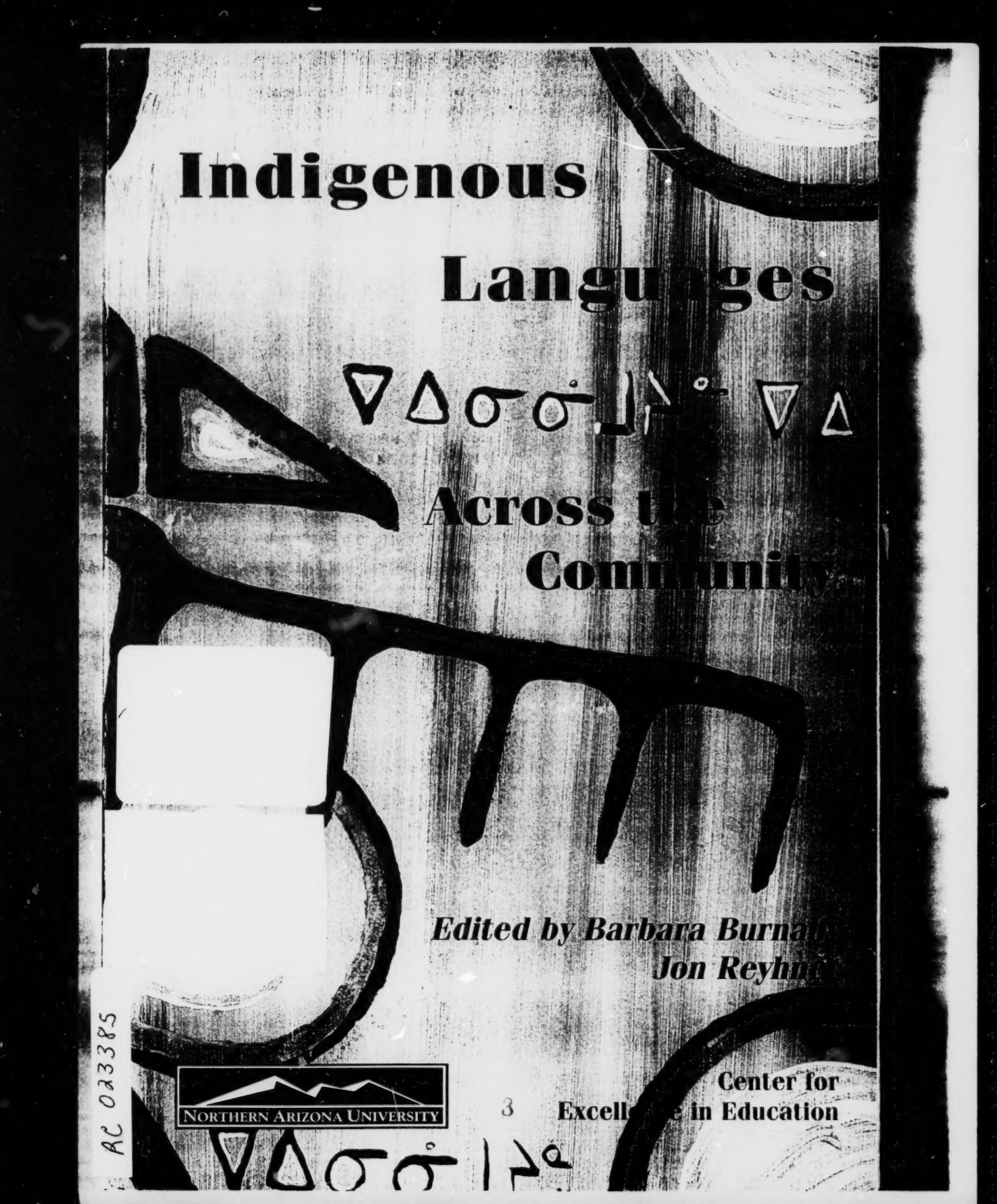

Indigenous Languages

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Across the Community

Edited by Barbara Burnaby
Jon Reyhner

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NORTHERN ARIZONA UNIVERSITY

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Indigenous Languages Across the Community

edited by

Barbara Jane Burnaby

Jon Allan Reyhner

Flagstaff, Arizona
2002

Northern Arizona University's Center for Excellence in Education has published a series of monographs on indigenous issues. These include *Stabilizing Indigenous Languages* edited by Gina Cantoni (1996), *Teaching Indigenous Languages* edited by Jon Reyhner (1997), *Revitalizing Indigenous Languages* edited by Jon Reyhner, Gina Cantoni, Robert St. Clair, and Evangeline Parsons Yazzie (1999), and *Learn in Beauty: Indigenous Education for a New Century* edited by Jon Reyhner, Joseph Martin, Louise Lockard, and W. Sakiestewa Gilbert (2000). *Indigenous Languages Across the Community*, a fifth publication in this series, is a compilation of papers submitted for the Seventh Annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Conference held in Toronto, Canada on May 11-14, 2000. The conference was chaired by Dr. Barbara Burnaby.

Copies of the above publications can be obtained from Center for Excellence in Education, Northern Arizona University, Box 5774, Flagstaff, Arizona, 86011-5774. Reprinting and copying on a nonprofit basis is hereby allowed with proper identification of the source. These publications are also available on the world wide web at <http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~jar/TIL.html>. For more information contact Jon Reyhner at 928 523 0580 or <Jon.Reyhner@nau.edu>.

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This volume is dedicated to the memory of
Joan Speares
whose life was a model of principled,
passionate dedication to indigenous
children and enhancing the possibilities
of their self-expression.

Introduction

Since 1994, the Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposia/Conferences have provided an unparalleled opportunity for practitioners and scholars dedicated to supporting and developing the endangered indigenous languages of the world, particularly those of North America, to meet and share knowledge and experiences gained from research and community based practice. Established through leadership at Northern Arizona University and carried on through the voluntary efforts of academics and universities which have hosted the meetings since 1994, this symposium regularly consists of plenary addresses by leading Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal scholars, academic papers on field based experience, and papers and workshops by Aboriginal academics and practitioners on initiatives in their communities to save and advance their languages. The meetings have been held in Flagstaff Arizona, Anchorage Alaska, Louisville Kentucky, and Tucson Arizona. The proceedings in this volume are papers from the seventh conference, held in Toronto in May of 2000. Proceedings were published in one volume for the first two symposia, then one each for the Fourth and Fifth.

One essential feature of these conferences is that they have created a forum in which Aboriginal people involved with work on their own languages feel comfortable about coming together with academics from this field to discuss issues common to them both. In the past, well more than half of the attendees of this symposium have been Aboriginal people, mostly from the United States and Canada, but also including those from New Zealand, Australia, the South Pacific, Mexico, and Europe. At the Toronto conference, there were participants as well from Zimbabwe, North Atlantic countries, Russia, and Brazil. Thus, the meetings are not only a unique opportunity for sharing of information and ideas among practitioners and scholars, but also the only national or international formal and on-going sessions in which those who work on the practice and implementation of stabilizing Aboriginal languages are the focus. Neither Canada nor the United States has regular national conferences specifically on their respective indigenous languages except for highly academic linguistic meetings. Therefore, these conferences are virtually the only chance for academic and professional contact about indigenous language development on the continent, much less in a world context. As an opportunity for breaking the isolation of people working on specific languages and in specific communities, this meeting has no equal. As a result, the proceedings of the previous symposia have been eagerly received as one of the few sources of collected information on theoretical and applied work on this world-wide concern. Several hundred languages are involved in North America alone.

Key Issues for Discussion

The majority of the conference participants are usually involved with the use of Aboriginal languages in education at some level. Thus, issues such as models of curriculum and programming (bilingual education, immersion, adult

education, literacy, and so on) and teacher training have always figured strongly among the topics of conference presentations. In addition, language development matters, such as orthography development, language resource documents (dictionaries and grammars), the role and creation of literature, the use of media, and so on, have been brought forward. Community language development and preservation are also considered, as in the public use of the languages, newspapers and broadcasting, the role of religion and culture, language policy, and so on. Language planning and advocacy strategies are compared across jurisdictions.

In the introductions to the volumes of proceedings for earlier conferences, the importance of a supportive community context for language renewal and maintenance has been emphasized. For example, Cantoni (1996, p. viii) states:

> Languages are more likely to disappear as a result of the destruction of the language habitat of their speakers than because of direct attack upon their use (as, for example, when they are forbidden by political powers, especially in schools and public offices).

Similarly, Reyhner (1999, p. xviii) points out:

> All five of the Stabilizing Indigenous Languages symposiums have highlighted the need for community support of school-based efforts at indigenous language revitalization and the fact that it is critically important for parents to speak their indigenous language in the presence of their young children.

In recognition of the importance of the holistic context of language use and development, the theme "Language Across the Community" was chosen for the Toronto conference.

Toronto Conference Highlights

The conference in Toronto attracted more than 600 participants from the countries mentioned above. As expected, there was a greater representation from Canada than previously. The program began on the evening of May 11, 2000, with a reception and singing and dancing by the *Wahahi:o* Iroquois Drummers. On May 12th and 13th and on the morning of the 14th, there were opening and closing blessings by Elders and high school students, plenary sessions, and 75 breakout presentations in all. On one evening, there was an open house with films by Drew Hayden Taylor and Sandy Greer and music provided by participants. At the same time, a special session was held for more than 40 people of Inuit/Yupik origins. On the following evening at the banquet, Elders were recognized and an Aboriginal comedy troupe, *Other People's Kids*, entertained.

The four plenary talks were:

Chief Ron Ignace (Head of the Aboriginal Languages Committee of the Assembly of First Nations, Canada), "The AFN strategy for the preservation of endangered languages".

Jeanie Bell (Community Linguist, Cairns, Australia), "A view of the indigenous language situation in Australia".

Dorothy Lazore (Mohawk Language Teacher, Tyendinaga, Ontario, and Consultant on Immersion Programs), "Developing a Native language education system within Native communities".

Verna Kirkness (Associate Professor Emerita of the University of British Columbia), "Banks, people and research: The reservation and the use of our languages".

Organization of the Proceedings

The papers in this volume all resulted from sessions given at the conference. As in most proceedings of working conferences of this type, many sessions were more like workshops than papers and therefore are not represented here. However, we have been fortunate to get an excellent, rich representation of the issues, perspectives, and communities featured in the sessions of the conference overall. In this volume, the papers have been divided into six sections, roughly based on their focus.

Section I: Broad Perspectives and Policy. The five papers in this section were grouped together because of their appeal to all indigenous groups in their struggle with issues respecting their ancestral languages. Te Tuhi Robust, Executive Assistant to the Pro Vice Chancellor (Māori) in New Zealand and a former school principal, not only describes how a Māori community found its own responses to changes in government policy on education, especially with the help of information technology, but also gives a vivid account of unique challenges confronting indigenous researchers working in their own communities. Verna Kirkness, a long-time leader in public and university education for aboriginal peoples, distilled principles that must be addressed in indigenous language work at all levels. The problem faced by most indigenous languages of being viewed as a museum piece by the general public and even some indigenous peoples themselves is considered by Timoti Karetu, Chair of the Te Kohanga Reo National Trust in New Zealand. Juliet Thondhlana is Head of the Department of Linguistics at the University of Zimbabwe; her paper is a plea for a significant role for children's own indigenous languages as a part of their public education. Geneva Langworthy, a graduate student in linguistics at the University of New Mexico, demonstrates how language revival and development can be needed and be implemented even when members of one linguistic group are separated by history and national boundaries. Each of these papers uses specific references to the writer's own context, but emphasizes the broader application of its focus to all indigenous language situations.

Section II: Language and Whole Community Development. In this section, five papers show approaches to the use of language development as part of community healing, growth, and learning. Grafton Antone, a United Church minister and Oneida language teacher in Toronto, and Lois Provost Turchetti, a graduate student at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto, outline ways in which indigenous languages and visual symbols can promote and enrich spiritual understanding and healing for people struggling in the midst of modern life. Robert St. Clair and John Busch, both of the University of Louisville, are director in the International Association for Cross-Cultural Communication and founding member of the Institute for Systems Research respectively. In their paper they explore the context of technological, structural, and symbolic change as it relates to language loss and cultural change among first Nations and First Peoples. Bill Jancewicz (Summer Institute of Linguistics) and Marguerite MacKenzie (Memorial University of Newfoundland), linguists and language developers, have worked for over a decade with long-serving Naskapi language specialists such as George Guanish and Silas Nabinicaboo at the Naskapi Development Corporation in Kawawachikamach, Quebec. Their paper describes how a language development team was created over time in the community using a broad range of expertise. A student of Native American Linguistics at the State University of New York and leader in the Tuscarora Language Committee of the Tuscarora Nation, Francene Patterson emphasizes how creativity, determination, and unconventional approaches to language promotion have worked to accomplish the goals of the Committee. Heather Blair and Sally Rice (Professors at the University of Alberta), Valerie Wood (Project Co-Director on the Cold Lake First Nations, Alberta), and John Janvier (Dene Soun'line language instructor in Cold Lake) report on the Daghida Project to conduct linguistic research, identify language revitalization possibilities, and support language renewal efforts on the Cold Lake First Nations. In this section, the first two papers look more generally at principles and approaches to the role of language in the wider context of community realities while the other three give detailed examples of sustained activities in research and development to involve many people in language promotion activities.

Section III: Educational Advances. The eight papers in this section provide detailed information about specifically educational approaches to indigenous language development. A particularly valuable aspect of this collection is that the projects described span a range of learners from young children to adults and of settings from formal to informal. Maureen Olson, teacher and coordinator of the Dulce Elementary School's Multicultural Bilingual Program in New Mexico, describes the successes and challenges of operating a summer immersion day camp for Apache youth, noting the importance of counselor training, community involvement and maintaining the immersion experience. A workshop on teaching aspects of Inuktitut was conducted by Janet McGrath, Director of Tamalik and Associates; her report includes the results of brainstorming with participants on effective learning programs and their environments. Adult learners of Mohawk are featured in the paper by David Kanatawakhon Maracle of the

University of Western Ontario and Brock University and Merle Richards of Brock University; the authors reflect on the first year of a Mohawk immersion program and, with the help of perceptions of the learners, suggest how the second year might be structured. Mary Linn, Tessie Naranjo, Sheilah Nicholas, Inée Slaughter, Akira Yamamoto, and Ofelia Zapeda are all researchers associated with the Indigenous Language Institute (ILI) in Santa Fe, New Mexico. In a rare overview of 15 indigenous language development programs on a variety of languages in Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma, the authors describe and compare challenges and innovative strategies used in these situations. Jule Gomez de Garcia, Director of the Center for the Study of Indigenous Languages at the University of Colorado, Melissa Axelrod, Assistant Professor in the Department of Linguistics at the University of New Mexico, and Maureen Olson, mentioned above in this section, draw specific attention to the role of women in literacy in indigenous languages through compelling anecdotes and examples of educational approaches that suit particular situations. A more extended example of an approach to indigenous language learning and literacy, this time through an example with high school students provides a step by step demonstration of a lesson using puppets to show how reading theory can be applied with the use of a traditional story; the author is Ruth Bennett, Ethnographic Researcher at the Center for Indian Community Development at Humboldt State University in California. Marion BlueArm, an educator with the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe in South Dakota, writes of an extensive survey conducted in the community on ideas, feelings, and attitudes towards the Lakota language; findings include support, especially among parent-aged people, for Lakota language programs in school, with somewhat more in favour of bilingual programs than immersion. Myron Paskemin, Cree Elder in Residence at the University of Alberta, and his daughter, Donna Paskemin, Assistant Professor in the School of Native Studies at the University of Alberta, give a Cree story that was used in a university course. Among these papers, then, we see innovations in types of programs aimed at reaching student populations of all ages as well as classroom approaches and less formal strategies for the actual teaching.

Section IV: Languages and Literacy Development. In this section there are four papers that focus on how linguistic work in indigenous communities has contributed to the production of materials, writing systems, and community approaches to language maintenance. Sueli Maria de Souza, a Professor at the School of Laws and Media of the University of Tocatins and the Universidade Luterana do Brasil, gives examples of texts collected in the Craô language which are relevant to children's interests and everyday lives and thus attractive for use in language lessons. With respect to the use of early documents providing Iroquoian words, Blair Rudes, Assistant Professor in the English Department of the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, suggests that there are dangers in using such information in conclusions about the modern Iroquoian languages. He lists strategies to avoid drawing incorrect conclusions. Anne-Marie Baraby, a long-time linguistic consultant to Algonquian groups in Quebec and Instructor

in French grammar at the Université de Québec à Montréal, outlines the long history and process of writing system development and standardization in Innuaimun (Montagnais) communities in Quebec and Labrador. Anne Goodfellow of the University of British Columbia and Pauline Alfred, who teaches Kwak'wala in Alert Bay, British Columbia, have written about the relevance of linguistic studies on pidgin and creole languages as a clue to understanding variations in indigenous languages as created by young generations of speakers in North America. These four papers suggest that there is a wide variety of ways in which linguistic study can be used in the service of indigenous language development.

Section V: The Media. At all the Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Conferences there have been presentations on ways in which people have employed various media to promote and enhance their indigenous languages. In this section, conference participants describe their projects using various media forms. Shirley Williams, a Professor in the Department of Native Studies at Trent University in Ontario, indicates how, like Sueli Maria de Souza, she chose a topic close to the hearts of indigenous children, in her case hockey, as a basis for Ojibwe language learning lessons and how she used the technology of CD-ROMs to make dynamic activities on the topic. In keeping with his long-held interest in multimedia, José Antonio Flores Farfán of the Department of Language, Reading and Culture at the University of Arizona demonstrates the effective use of different techniques to reinforce language and cultural awareness and development with examples from his series of materials created with the Nahuas of Central Guerrero, Mexico. A special guest of the conference, Galina Diatchkova of the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences, describes the history of newspapers in Chukotka which reflected to varying degrees the social, economic, and political changes in indigenous society and languages in the region. Peter Brand, John Elliott, and Ken Foster, all educators with the Saanich School District in British Columbia, discuss their project to use interactive multimedia to breathe new life into a language, Sencoten, with just 15 surviving fluent speakers. The topic of the use of media, from basic print literacy to the latest in information technology, was a lively one among the participants, and it forms a central theme not only among these four papers but also in those by Te Tuhi Robust, Anne-Marie Baraby, Bill Janciewicz et al., and Jule Gomez de Garcia et al., among others.

Section VI: Meeting of Inuit and Yupik Participants. In advance of the conference, several interested people realized that the conference would attract a considerable number of Inuit and Yupik people from a broad geographic range stretching from Siberia to the North Atlantic island countries. To take advantage of this opportunity for these people to get acquainted with each other, share common interests, and establish networks, a meeting was arranged for one evening of the conference. Guy Delorme of the Katavik School Board of northern Quebec facilitated the meeting of over 40 participants and his colleague, Jacques Raymond, took notes. Each person in the room had the opportunity to speak and raise issues of relevance to the whole group.

Acknowledgements

We extend our most sincere thanks to the organizations which provided financial support for the conference: the Ontario Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities; the Ontario Regional Office of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada; Health Canada (especially for support for the publication of this volume); the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto; and Casino Rama. Other organizations from whom we received essential and substantial support included: the Indigenous Education Network (OISE/UT); the Assembly of First Nations; the Woodlands Cultural Centre; the Modern Language Centre (OISE/UT), the Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas; AlphaPlus Centre; First Nations House of the University of Toronto; the Katavik School Board; First Nations Confederacy of Cultural Education Centres; Working World New Media; and Drew Hayden Taylor, Sandy Greer and Paul Rickard, film makers. Our spiritual leaders were Rose Logan, Grafton Antone, Lillian McGregor, and high school students from the Six Nations Reserve. The steering committee consisted of Barbara Burnaby, Dawn Maracle, Laara Fitznor, John Stanley, Priscilla George, Nancy Cooper, Amos Key, Barbara Fritz, Joan Speares, Jon Reyhner, and Richard Budgell. Others who gave unsparingly of their time and talents include: Damian Mac Seáin, Jean-Paul Restoule, Angie Monture, Joan Green Bird, Maureen Smith, Michelle Pon, Lois and Sarah Provost Turchetti, Eileen Antone, Leslie Saxon, Sheri Regier, Nancy Cooper, Keith Lickers, Keren Rice, Alana Johns, Louise Godere, Catherine Pelletier, Ian Martin, Sandy and Helen Burnaby, Frank Burns, Jan Pugsley, David Beyer, Deirdre Paul, Gail Matthews, Miya Narushima, Lana Tiller, Dawn Antone, Jacquelyn Fitznor, Marguerite MacKenzie, and Carrie Dyck.

We greatly look forward to the long continuance of these conferences and the fellowship, learning and sharing they promote. For current information of the conferences and for on-line access to the proceedings, please visit the website at <http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~jar/TIL.html>.

Barbara Burnaby
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Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Maori: The Language is the Life Essence of Maori Existence

Te Tuhi Robust

This paper discusses the impact that recent educational reforms by the New Zealand government have had on Maori as individuals involved in decision-making processes with specific reference to a predominantly Maori rural community (Motatau). The aim of these Maori individuals was to provide a secure learning environment for their children based on *te reo Maori*/Maori language unique to and for their *hapu*/sub-tribe. The effects of information communication technology on this Maori community are also discussed within the context of 'creating space' for Maori decision making to achieve their indigenous goals. The material for this paper is based on a study comprised of participant observations and interviews within the rural community, giving members' views on how government policies have affected them, in particular their local school. The community used the Treaty of Waitangi (1840)[1], the original treaty between the Maori people and the British Crown, as the basis for the development of their school's policies and strategic plans, through the recognition of their rights under Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi.

The paper centres on the many 'tools' that are available to community leaders in making culturally relevant decisions in providing for people whom they are responsible for and to. These tools can be seen in positive and negative terms, as the creatures of external interests for their own goals or as resources available to the community. The term 'tools' can be considered in a number of ways. The definition of a tool offered by Vygotsky is elaborated in his exploration of the concept of human labour and tool use as the means by which man changes nature and, in so doing, transforms himself (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 7). The community advisory group, computer technology, boards of trustees, the Maori committee, *marae*/meeting house, trustees, and *Runanga*/Tribal Council can be seen as tools of action, consultation and communication to bring about change for society. This paper explores who it is that controls the tools and the actual and potential use of these tools to enhance the repositioning of Maori in pursuing their individual and *whanau*/family aspirations. It also considers how a community might react to the potential dilemmas that change brings to their situation.

The paper begins with some background for the analysis of the particular community's experience by discussing the concept of tools in a Maori context as well as providing information on the economic circumstances and educational reforms that required Maori responses. Next, the approach to a research project, which formed the basis for the data in the papers is described, followed by the findings in terms of the history of formal education in the community, community responses, the role of information technology, enabling and constraining outcomes, and reflections on the situation after ten years of developments.

Background

Tools and Indigenous Societies

The use of information communication technologies brings together countries, groups, and individuals to share information of mutual interest. It decreases boundaries that, in the past, in isolated countries like New Zealand meant restricted access to trade and opportunities enjoyed by others. The idea of appropriating and exploring such tools is not foreign to Maori society (Belich, 1986). In Maori society it is expected that elders or peers will seek knowledge in creating the freedom to make appropriate choices for the group. Indigenous groups with access to tools of information and communication technology can use them to cross boundaries and also to enhance their learning capabilities, to gain knowledge, adapt, and control. However, for them to take this journey and use the tools to achieve their goals by modifying existing arrangements they need the space to explore the medium, to set goals, and evaluate their usefulness for their own situation.

But there is a potential dilemma, as shown by recent studies of literacy as a tool. Information and communication technologies, while opening some avenues of undertaking action in the world, may limit one's understanding and activity in other areas. Literacy can be used for colonization (Jenkins, 1991). However, Cummins (1995, p. 89) argues that literacy can be explicitly focused on issues of power as seen in the work of Paulo Freire, who highlights the potential of written language as a tool that encourages people to analyze the division of power and resources in their society and to work toward transforming discriminatory structures.

Within Maori society, respect for relationships rests in the base of the kin group, *whanau*/family, *hapu*/subtribe, and *iwi*/tribe. Throughout Maori society, whether it be the gathering of food, holding meetings on *marae*/meeting house or the planting of crops, Maori incorporate the spiritual and physical dimensions of learning handed down from generation to generation. For example, the preparation of the garden involved all members of the *whanau*/family who took on specific roles such as the preparation of the ground, planting, tending the crop, and harvesting it. In many cases these activities have been modified with the use of new technology. The planting of crops can be achieved on a commercial basis, planting and harvesting with machines, and marketing of produce. The quantity, quality, and cost effectiveness of the production of crops have been increased using these technologies. The claim that is made here is that the technologies employed, while opening some avenues for some people, have also closed other avenues, for example, employment patterns, at the same time, thus bringing into focus the struggle between control and possibility, coercion and collaboration. These tensions are very evident in the general area of schooling and preparation for work.

Education and Change in the Maori Context

In recent years combinations of changes, the overall effect of which has been to increase the incentive to be highly skilled, have impacted on New Zealand society. The result of this has been for society to increase the encouragement for people to develop skills. Education and training can play a key support role in maintaining economic growth and, therefore, employment growth. While education and training do not create jobs, they can give people the knowledge and skills to obtain them. In combination with employment and income support policies, education and training can provide a way of assisting those without the relevant skills and experience to take advantage of continued job growth (Prime Ministerial Task Force on Employment, 1994, p. 81). Three strands of change can be identified in current education and training policies in *Aotearoa*/New Zealand to create more effective schooling (Lange, 1988). The first is the move to self-managing institutions, including the establishment of school boards of trustees. Secondly there is an ongoing debate on the role of student and parental choice, including the removal of school zoning restrictions. Finally there is the development of Maori education initiatives such as *kohanga reo*/Maori language nests, *Kura Kaupapa Maori*/Maori language total immersion schools and *Waananga*/Tribal Universities. Each of these strands creates the potential for space within which new tools (i.e., new ways, or new media for understanding and acting) can be developed. However, each of them contains dilemmas that impact on Maori as a result of the non-responsiveness of New Zealand society to Maori-specific cultural needs and identity in the past. National resources that have been put into place to cater for post-compulsory training focused on basic transferable skills and life-long learning are only part of the larger picture of society being responsive to education. What has been highlighted to this stage is the identification, creation, and maintenance of opportunities for people.

In advancing this development there is also a perceived need for the continued up-skilling of people to meet the new demands of society using new tools. It can be argued that the patterns of change have added significant pressure to develop more effective schooling opportunities for Maori. Cummins (1995, p. 6), discussing minority groups in relation to the structure of public education, says "not content just to reflect their societies and reinforce the existing structures of power, they are actively challenging the way in which power is negotiated and resources are distributed." In establishing the way in which power is challenged and used in the general context of the organisation of schools in New Zealand, new legislation supports creating the opportunity for people to choose the school they wish their children to attend. In New Zealand the influence of what type of school one attends or sends a child to and the long-term impact the school has will be an ongoing debate. For Maori, initiatives such as *Te Kohanga Reo*/Maori language nests, *Kura Kaupapa Maori*/Maori language total immersion schools, and *Waananga*/tribal university can be considered. These latter options target in particular Maori students graduating from *Te Kohanga Reo*/ Maori language nests that the present mainstream schools cannot cater for. The New Zealand government has developed some policy, but the resourcing of the

initiatives has not allowed for the development of appropriate curriculum resources and pedagogy at a level that is acceptable to people supporting the initiatives of *Te Kohanga Reo*/Maori Language Nests, *Kura Kaupapa Maori*/Maori language total immersions schools, and *Waananga*/tribal universities.

These developments have placed considerable pressure on government and other agencies to provide resource support that is appropriate to cater for the educational crises that have arisen for *Kaupapa Maori*/Maori philosophies and practices. Graham Smith suggests those *Kaupapa Maori*/Maori principles and philosophies initiated in the 1980s by Maori are "a means of understanding the potential of *Kaupapa Maori* approaches in intervening in Maori educational crises" (Smith, 1997). This initiative takes the form of 'transformative praxis', and the argument of Graham Smith provides a framework for exploring how the space can be created and for the effective use of technological advances in telecommunications and microelectronics. The use of tools such as information technology within an indigenous pedagogy is essential in supporting these new developments.

A Community Study

Research Based on Indigenous Principles

Justification of research undertaken by an indigenous researcher is probably the most difficult challenge that such a person has to encounter. Things taken for granted, for example, oral or inherited rights to *whakapapa*/genealogy and other, in some cases, *tapu*/sacred elements for the *whanau* family, take on a new shape or form. In the research context the researcher will have to seek the appropriate guidance in accessing these elements. The key to this type of research is to be sure that one has appropriate and effective links to the community or individuals involved. I was the principal investigator involved in what now can be seen as a type of collaborative research. At one level, it was a collaborative piece of action research undertaken by myself as a teaching principal of Motatau school and, at a second level, I am now reporting on the history of that enterprise ten years later using documents and records I have kept from that period of time.

The process of recording this information conforms to a collaborative model by checking all the information in this paper with specific reference to the Motatau community. The research process adopted for *whanau*/family principles focus on shared decision-making. It is not until one has to sit down and work alongside one's own *whanau*/family that one understands the enormity of the task set by *Kaupapa Maori*/Maori philosophies and practices. The collecting and collating of research data are not the easiest things to set up. Working collaboratively with key people from the group is difficult, allows opportunities, but does not necessarily guarantee open and full decision-making. For example, the process of implementing policy had been discussed at meetings on the *marae*/meeting house. Interviews, meetings, and reviews of documentation relating to the school and the community from the first arrival of *Pakeha*/non-Maori in the valley

were part of the methodology used for the research. The process set in place was inclusive and agreed to by the marae trustees and the Maori committee members of whanau/ family represented, therefore confirming their stake in the process. The presentation of the research initiative at the first meeting centered on *whakapapa*/genealogy between all parties. It was noted that *whanau*/family members were representative of *iwi*/tribes from throughout the country with one *whanau*/family from Holland. The main focus was on the immediate *whanau*/ family group with other *iwi*/tribes serving to add to the wonderful tapestry of the present makeup of the community.

The bringing together of resources by all parties for the benefit of the community is the unspoken message and is an integral part of the reporting to be completed for the community. *Kaupapa Maori*/Maori philosophy and practices are discussed within the context of critical theory, taking into account the notions of critique, resistance, struggle, and emancipation. It is "a theory and an analysis of the context of research which involves Maori and of the approaches to research with, by and/or for Maori" (Smith, 1997). What Maori need to do is to "seek and find ways to tell their stories in their own way" (Hilda Halkyard-Harawira, May 1999). This statement is more than a reference to the way in which Maori should approach research. Maori need to tell their own stories without the fear of being marginalized, dissected, and criticised in an academic arena that does not include shared forms of academic knowledge.

Research Findings

Motatau: The Community and its School

Motatau is a small rural community located 35 kilometers from the township of Kawakawa in the Bay of Islands. The area supports a farming industry base of dairy, sheep and beef, and, more recently, forestry. The school, established in 1914, now has a roll that fluctuates around some 53 students and caters for new entrants to Form 2 children. *A kohanga reo*/Maori language nest is located at the local *marae*—Manukoroki. The *iwi*/tribe is *Ngapuhi Nui Tonu*, the *hapu*/subtribe is *Ngati Hine*, and the *whanau*/family is *Ngati Te Tarawa*. The *maunga*/mountain is *Motatau* and the *awa*/river is *Te Ramarama*. In the past the people from the community have preserved their stories in *korero*/oral tradition, which have been told many times by their *tupuna*/ancestors and theirs before them. Oral history of the *hapu*/extended families has been the main form of communicating these histories. However, the community has now moved to also record their histories in the form of *pakiwaitara*/stories by using computers, audio and video methods of recording. The focus of the community of Motatau is the *marae*/meeting house where the major decisions of the people of Motatau have taken place over the years. It is from here that this story of using 'new tools' for old needs takes the lead.

In 1986 *te reo Maori*/Maori language was the first language spoken in 85% of the households in the Motatau community. This has since been reinforced with the establishment of the *kohanga reo*/language nest, which was located at

the school prior to moving to its present location on the *Motatau marae*/meeting place. Families have also taken it upon themselves to ensure that *te reo Maori* is maintained in the home.

The Task Force to Review Educational Administration (1988) in schools signalled to the community that they would have to take on increased responsibility for their school in providing for their children through to the 21st Century. This brought about a fair amount of scepticism voiced at numerous *hui*/meetings held within the *Ngati Hine*/sub-tribe community. People remembered that in 1974 the late Sir James Henare, chairman of the school committee, led the community in a fight against a government decision to close the district high school. The school committee unsuccessfully petitioned parliament on this issue. The children of that time are now parents of the children attending the school and are still trying to get their voices heard. The school has, however, been fortunate in that it has hosted a number of groups and individuals from political and social circles who have given their support to the school and community. In 1987 the community agreed that the government was divesting itself of its social responsibility to people, in particular Maori, by devolving education administration to the community. This view was represented to government officials on a number occasions nationally, regionally and locally. The history of the school confirms considerable change that the community had undergone since the opening of the school in 1914. There appears to have been little benefit to the community in these changes to the school's functioning; the community had gone round full circle in making changes as required to meet the demands of new government policies to which they had had minimal input as a community.

The following examples illustrate the changes in status for the school:

1914 to 1951	Motatau Native School (Maori School – N/E to Form VI, Year one to year ten)
1951 to 1974	Motatau District High School (Primary and Secondary School – N/E to Form VI, Year one to year twelve)
1974 to 1988	Motatau Primary School (Full Primary School – N/E to Form II, Year one to Year eight)
1989 to now	Motatau Bilingual School (*Te Kura Reo Rua O Motatau*)

A meeting held at Motatau *marae* in 1987 to address educational issues confirmed a request from the community to change the status of Motatau Primary school to *Te Kura Reo Rua O Motatau*/Motatau Bilingual school. Reasons for this change included the desire of the people to have *te reo Maori* and English given equal status as an integral part of curriculum delivery. The school committee had the responsibility for reviewing the organisation and management of the school in bringing this request to fruition. An understanding between the staff and parents was reached on the pedagogical approach to be used in the delivery

of curriculum. The staff at the school was encouraged to teach in either *te reo Maori* or English as long as the standard of teaching was of the highest quality. The children, when enrolled at school, would be taught in their first language whether it was Maori or English.

It was agreed that the teachers at the school would share the responsibility to teach in both mediums of *te reo Maori*/Maori language and *te reo Pakeha*/ English language with members of the community. The aim of the school was to have children leaving the school fluent in both *te reo Maori* and *te reo Pakeha*. This meant that the *whanau*/family had to own and retain the process from start to finish. The focus of all activity reported here and continuing now has been on the school and *marae* working closely with one another.

In 1988 the Task Force to Review Education Administration found that the administration of New Zealand's school system was over centralized, overly complex, and in need of extensive reform. It was perceived that all decision-making came from the top and that very few decisions were being made from the local level, where the immediate impact of rules and procedures was felt. "Effective management practices are lacking and the information needed by people in all parts of the system to make informed choices is seldom available. The result is that almost everyone feels powerless to change things they see need change. To make progress change is now required" (Taskforce to Review Education Administration, 1988). Administrative changes for schools set out in the document *Tomorrow's Schools* (Lange, 1988) were designed to give more resources to schools and to provide more parent and community involvement, more responsibility to teachers and greater accountability. The decisions from the Taskforce report were incorporated in major revisions of the Education Act in 1989 and the Education Amendment Act 1990. The outcome was a new focus on self-control and management, balanced with an emphasis on national curriculum and national standards. The Task Force, therefore, recommended that any new administration for education should be based upon choice— giving a wide range of options to consumers and individual learning institutions, the needs of the parents and the community, cultural sensitivity, equity, and good management practices. This would allow those working in the system to have detailed and clear objectives, control over resources, no overlapping lines of responsibility, and understanding of the need to be accountable for the decisions they make.

The implementation of this policy direction was co-ordinated by the Department of Education. A number of initiatives included the briefing of school committees and principals of schools. It was expected that this type of consultation and professional development would motivate schools to be more aware and be better positioned to handle the changes being forecast for the administration of schools. As a result of these courses and workshops a strategic plan and an implementation plan was developed for Motatau Primary School that would cater for the change of status for the school to *Te Kura Reo Rua O Motatau*/ Motatau Bilingual School and then position the school for the new administrative changes to be implemented. The plan included a timeframe with phases of

development such as the appointment of an interim board of trustees and finally the election of a board of trustees for the school. The phases and steps incorporated a flat level of management with specific roles defined for each person—staff, board trustee, parent, and student.

At the time of the educational administration changes, further change was taking place in other government policies which had an impact on the situation of the rural sector. The initial downturn in the mid 1970s in the wool schedule, followed by the drop in the beef schedule in the 1980s, and then the halving of the pay-out/income for the dairy industry in the mid 1980s meant that economic policies developed for the rural sector were not working for the benefit of the people. This was also evident in the stress emerging with the introduction of policies for the health, education, and social services sectors. Since the reforms, they had a flow-on effect to society and people in general terms and in particular in schools and institutions.

The story of Motatau reflects the strong cultural practices of the community in using a number of tools to provide resources to support a creative learning environment for the children. A central element of action for the community has been the use of the Treaty of Waitangi as the base document for all development whether it involves the school or the *marae*/meeting house. In the case of the school, the main thing that the community wanted and demanded was a sound educational base for their children. A large number of people from the community served in local, national, and international situations as leaders or supporters for government, *iwi*/tribal, *hapu*/extended families, and associated agencies. They have been also been party more recently to many initiatives impacting on Maori for the retention of *te reo Maori*/Maori language, education, conservation, and the health sector. The case study illustrates that there were insufficient financial resources being made available to the community at large to implement and achieve the goals of government. It addresses barriers that exist within institutions to the changing needs of students and provides evidence of the issues that arise through the discussion of these impacts on a community and indigenous person.

How the School Used Tools to Meet and Reinvent Goals

The Role and Challenges of a Board of Trustees. The school installed an interim board of trustees for the school. This step proved to be the key factor in positioning the school to take advantage of the new reforms. The people were given the opportunity for the first time in the history of the school to have hands-on experience in the decision-making for their school, which crossed the boundaries of teaching and planning in all curriculum to be delivered. This led then to the election of a board of trustees who were accountable for meeting the objectives set out in their charter (an agreement between the school and the Minister of Education) and for expenditures made from bulk grants received from government to run institutions. The board is required to report to the Education Review Office that reviews how well they are meeting the objectives of their charter. The Education Review Office reports directly to the Minister of Education.

The Ministry ensures the delivery of education advisory services, special education services, curriculum, and early childhood development through contractual arrangements with other agencies and providers. These support services are now at a cost to schools. The Ministry of Education decides the scope of the curriculum. It has responsibility for setting national curriculum objectives within the national guidelines. Schools and teachers make the decisions as to what will be learned and taught in order to meet the curriculum objectives. In 1987, when the strategic plan was in place, the people believed that it would lead the school toward the Twenty-first Century. Its adoption opened the opportunity for the children attending the Motatau school to the possibility of having educational experiences (i.e., school visits to Auckland and other regions) and the board of trustees made it a priority to encourage more exposure to other experiences outside of their immediate locality.

The initial workload for the staff was determined in the main by the calendar presented by the Education Board of the time. With the emergence of the board of trustees, a period of uncertainty was experienced and staff were placed under undue pressure from all circles to maintain the integrity of the education system which aimed to deliver high quality education but also to maintain social and professional contact within the respective circles of their community networks such as Maori trustees, *marae* committee, *kohanga reo*, ladies committee, *Runanga*/Tribal Council, and *iwi* organizations. The approach taken by the Motatau community between 1987 to 1989 has been seen to be the right one for that point in time.

Present legislation on the operation of boards further stress the liability of trustees on the board—an unattractive proposition to those who were interested. Within the Motatau community, there are not large numbers of eligible personnel from whom to canvass for board membership. The majority of people choose to support the school on Calf Club days or fundraising activities rather than serve on the board.

The Role of Information Technology. As the first Maori principal to be appointed to Motatau Primary School, I had the opportunity to provide leadership that led to the implementation of initiatives such as the introduction of computer technology to enhance the organisation and management of the school. The aim was to achieve all of the objectives as required by the Department of Education which would in time and enable the community to adjust to the next phase of the implementation of government policy under the *Tomorrow's Schools* (Lange, 1988) initiative. This phase included the election of the new board of trustees and the further development of the administrative base for the school.

The community of Motatau and the school *whanau*/family in particular utilised the networks and technology available at the time to develop new resources for the children and provide further avenues of resource development such as the collection of oral histories for the community. The community social network can be understood as a tool, used to channel contributions from former students and teachers of the school. One of these people was a former teacher, Dr. Richard Benton. He arrived in the Motatau valley in 1961 to begin his teaching

career in the secondary department of the then Motatau District High School. Dr. Benton, an acknowledged scholar in the area of Maori language research, has had his story told by the people of Motatau on the *marae* since that date. It is this rapport and the high esteem that the people held him in that led him to consider giving back something to the people of Motatau.

In 1986, Richard Benton and I undertook to create an opportunity for an *iwi*/sub-tribe initiative to link new technology (computer and telecommunication) with *whanau*/family networks. This initiative involved the exchange of information and ideas between a number of parties nationally and internationally. At that time the cost in purchasing a computer and a modem was very expensive. The school committee raised funds for the purchase of a computer and software for the school. It was also fortunate that I had purchased the same software and hardware to assist me in the administration of the school. The freedom, space, and opportunity the computers brought to the school within a short period of time were evident from the beginning. The board of trustees were able to access information and have clear concise reports generated. Having well presented reports that in the past would have meant a wait for days and in some cases weeks before being able to give informed response to government agencies and others was the first step toward efficiency in the administration of the school. One of the points taken into consideration for the purchase of the computer was the organisation and management of the 75th Jubilee for the school. The drafting of the booklet, advertising, and other such information was a cost-saving enterprise in the long run. A key part of the information gathering that took place was the employment of a person from within the community who had skills and experience in data entry using the software purchased.

To enable a large amount of the information to be accessed and collated, a number of parties became involved. A telephone modem was borrowed from one of the local farmers in the next valley. The idea was to create a communication link via the modem and computer to the New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER) and its bilingual network, *Te Wahapu*, where Richard Benton worked. The main purpose of this activity was to bring to the board of trustees and the community an example of the ways in which there children could benefit from access to other forms of knowledge using information communication technology. As a result of this initiative Motatau Primary School became the first primary school to communicate with the first 'bilingual' computer network for *te reo Maori* in New Zealand. Students' stories gathered by Benton in 1961 and included in the 75th Jubilee booklet of the school could be downloaded from a remote location to Motatau. The community and children were given a surprise as present members of the board of trustees wrote a number of the stories downloaded from 1961.

Outcomes in Terms of Educational Structure

The ongoing development of new initiatives that resulted from the new status of the school was the signing in 1988 of the Matawaia Declaration (Benton, 1988) adopted at *Te Hui Reo Rua o Aotearoa ki Matawaia*. The full text was

signed at a *hui*/meeting and presented to the Minister of Maori Affairs, the Maori Language Commission, and other bodies for their support. Motatau was represented at these *hui* and played an integral part in bringing the declaration to its present form as a landmark in the history of Maori education. The declaration focuses on the administration of Maori education and calls for the establishment of an independent Maori education authority as a fully autonomous statutory body, to establish Maori control and autonomy of *Kaupapa Maori*/Maori philosophy and practices in education from pre-school to adult. This was seen as a priority in addressing the people's dissatisfaction with the current lack of commitment and planning by the then Department of Education. In bringing *Tomorrow's Schools* and the Matawaia Declaration together Benton (1988) saw a number of recommendations emerging from the people as a way for them to take a stand to reconfirm their control of the education forum for their children.

Constraints and Conditions

Communication Issues. The initiatives described above were influenced by various conditions. One such condition was that of communication to the teachers, students, parents, and communities. Meetings were required which had to be held in several locations other than on *marae* within affected communities. An integral part of circulating the information to the community was to present it in a format and style those participants would be able to understand. A lot of the information was drafted by government in legislative language and was not user friendly. This led to the information being misinterpreted and at times ignored. The quantity of information was at saturation point for the school and the community, and newsletters that were circulated were couched in jargon that was not easily understood or interpreted by the readers.

Meetings were held in 'clusters' around the region. Some involved the need for participants to travel long distances to attend, or being held on days when people were working or during the evenings or weekends which conflicted with other meetings or *hui* being held for other reasons. Many people from the Motatau area were involved at the national level in a number of other *hui* which revolved around the instigation of the concept of *Runanga*/Tribal Council, the devolution of the Department of Maori Affairs, fisheries debates and Treaty of Waitangi claims. Such problems of co-ordination of school meetings and other demands were not taken into account by the implementers of the new policy in education.

Workload and Cost Issues. The government devolved responsibility but not power to the board of trustees and in general the people. The devolution made it very difficult for schools to make their way in a climate of economic decline. The workloads of teachers and the boards of trustees increased to such an extent that teaching is now a profession which is no longer attractive. As a result, government agencies have had to recruit overseas teachers.

Also, the government published curriculum statements for Maori (e.g., *Putaiao*/Science, *Te Reo Pakeha*/English and other curriculum documents) that require large amounts of resourcing to implement but without sufficient funding to assist small schools such as Motatau. The publication of these documents

meant that they are only guidelines for schools to employ. The fact that they are not policy documents means that the government does not have to provide appropriate resources to ensure the implementation of the guidelines. The irony of this is that the Education Review Office is required to hold the board of trustees accountable to meet the National Education Guidelines (NEG's) and National Administrative Guidelines (NAG's). As the Ministry of Education in this case has published the guidelines officially, they are then deemed to be a requirement for all schools in their curriculum delivery.

The provision of staffing support continues to be a large financial burden on the school. Professional development courses are run on a regular basis at a cost to the board. This expense is compounded by the fact that there are no relievers for the teachers undertaking this professional development. Advisory services are now a cost related item for the board to facilitate and, again owing to insufficient funding support and long distances to travel, can only be undertaken when all other support services to the school are in place.

Time and money spent on attending and hosting *hui* for the community is a large burden on the community, financially and time-wise. Funding resources for this initiative were not available to the school, therefore proving to be an inhibiting factor for the community to participate in informed debate on the issue of educational change. They were totally reliant on feedback or reports from the principal, staff, and other members of the community who were able to attend meetings. Thus, the overall professional development of the staff and board members was yet another heavy commitment for the community.

Teacher Education/Professional Development. Grace Davis (2000), a former principal of the school, is of the view that, as a result of what has happened since the implementation of *Tomorrow's Schools*, the training of good quality teachers needs to be addressed. Boards of trustees are continuing to find that teachers with work experience in the classroom and at administrative levels are not available to staff rural schools such as Motatau. The high levels of stress experienced within rural schools have made teaching an unattractive profession. Te Oneroa Stewart (2000), also a school teacher, makes the point that not only is prospective teachers' absence of work experience a major factor for rural schools and communities seeking teachers, but the issue of *mana tangata*/personal wellbeing is the key to the success of the *Tomorrow's Schools* policies. The system has failed the people by not taking this concept into account. He is of the view that quality teacher training is the key to the success of rural schools. Teacher training needs to take into account the need to nurture teachers in training as whole persons so that they will be able to handle the everyday teaching situations that arise in small rural schools. Teacher trainees do not have work experience in the rural context; therefore when they are faced with it they are not able to handle it.

Teachers do not have available to them access to support mechanisms that they once enjoyed under the former education system. It is argued that funding has been provided within the operational funding distributed to schools. However in the rural sector the funding formulas do not cater adequately for this to happen.

It is totally unrealistic to expect funding allocated to schools based on national guidelines and formulas to work for the small rural school. To make up the shortfall, fundraising is a necessity. Support from the community is highly limited in Motatau due to the small numbers of contributors. The urban school, however, has access to more potential funding support, leaving the rural sector schools severely disadvantaged.

The Situation Ten Years Later

In revisiting this community ten years after the original research in the later 1980s, I see a number of other changes that have taken place. Ten years on, the hardship for rural schools has not abated. Interviews held with members of the community coincided with the review of the strategic plan, which has been drafted for the school and is being circulated within the community for comment. The issues are still the same and not likely to change.

There has been a total of three principals and upwards of eight teachers who have left the area for a number of reasons including retirement, promotion, and natural attrition. The issue here is not of retention but of replacement. The roles of the principal and the board of trustees, although clarified over the last five years, have not been as effective as originally supposed by the Ministry of Education. Insufficient funding and changes in policies (e.g., buses or advisory services) serve to lessen the viability of smaller schools in the rural sector. Critically, while the school has been a crucial focal point of the community, should it become an uneconomical body then the government has policy in place to close it and amalgamate it with other schools in the area. The logistics of this would serve greatly to dis-empower people despite the original intentions of *Tomorrow's Schools*.

When I was appointed as principal, I relied on the advice and support of the school committee and other *kaumatua* and *kuia*/elders to develop initiatives that would allow for the ongoing development and implementation of policies created for the school with the specific aim of providing education unique to and for the people of Motatau. It was evident from the outset that the policy direction of the government did not provide sufficient financial and human resources to pursue local interests such as allowing a small rural school to purchase technology required for the school and students. Governments have changed legislation (e.g., the Education Act, 1989) to devolve the responsibility of governance and management of the schools, relying on the good will of the community to take over what they, the government, had been doing for many years, without compensatory financial resources.

Nevertheless, an innovative learning environment with a well-rounded type of education unique to and for the children of Motatau has been maintained, but not without a struggle. This approach allowed for the child to recognise and maintain their *mana tangata*/personal wellbeing and to know where they were from and whom they represented. Administration issues should be placed in their appropriate context, which is achievement, a goal for the community. The

school is charged with providing the appropriate learning environment for children to succeed. Richard Benton points out that the Picot Report comment (Department of Education, 1987, 7.2.1-6. pp 65-67) on the "aspirations of Maori people" brings forward cause for concern among some parents, teachers and community members who have been working to revitalise *te reo* through bilingual and Maori medium *kaupapa*/immersion education. "It is clear that the revival of the Maori language and culture is seen not as an end in itself, but as the key of lifting the educational performance of Maori children" (Department of Education, 1987, 7.2.1).

Motatau, in following its own strategic plan, has been found correct in maintaining the community dream by implementing the process of changing the status of the school. Initially this application was seen by some to be the first of a series of thrusts that the community would put in place to try out the parameters suggested by *Tomorrow's Schools*. The process was found to be suspect in that there appeared to be no transparent protocol from a national perspective to implement a change of status for Motatau School. In 1988, David Lange, Prime Minister, confirmed the change in status. The protocol has since been changed and boards of trustees can make application to the Ministry of Education, using an agreed upon set of negotiated guidelines appropriate to their individual situation.

Strategies must be developed that will give boards of trustees and principals access to information, training, and networks that will help to develop educational management skills and improve their schools' efficiency and educational processes. This can only be done with further funding support for resources, material and human. New technology will assist to a certain extent but deficiencies in the financial outlay for the school mean that priorities for the school need to be revisited. In rural communities such as Motatau the financial restraints are especially marked. Government must be held accountable for the discrepancies.

Note

[1] In *Aotearoa*/New Zealand, the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) has come to form the base from which *iwi* tribe and *hapu*/sub-tribe have sought protection from the constitutional erosion of their rights. However, it has had a somewhat chequered history in terms of its official recognition. In the period since 1975, there has been a re-emergence of the Treaty in the official discourse of the Crown, particularly through the development of 'principles' by the Waitangi Tribunal and the Court of Appeal. The principles of the Treaty of Waitangi have also come to form part of the policy development and implementation processes of the state. Reviews of a general nature with regard to official Treaty discourse since 1975 (Kawharu, 1989) and the concurrent development of education policies and practices, perceived Treaty obligations and responsibilities suggest that educational organizations are no more accountable than they were prior to the Picot Report (Department of Education, 1987); and the Taskforce to Review Education Administration (1988). The finding of the Waitangi Tribunal with regard to the *Te Reo*/Maori Language claim in 1983, in which the existing education system was found to be operating 'in breach of the Treaty', is of particular note.

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Glossary

Aotearoa = New Zealand
Awa = river
Hapu = sub-tribe
Hui = meetings/ gatherings
Iwi = Tribe
Kaupapa Maori = Maori philosophies and practices
Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Maori = The language is the life essence of Maori existence

Indigenous Languages Across the Community

Kura Kaupapa Maori = Maori language total immersion schools
Maori = Indigenous People of New Zealand
Marae = Ancestral meeting house
Maunga = Mountain
Ngati Hine = A sub tribe community
Pakeha = Non-Maori
Putaiao = Science
Runanga = Tribal Council
Tapu = Sacred element(s)
Te Hui Reo Rua o Aotearoa ki Matawaia = The New Zealand Bilingual Conference held at Matawaia
Te Kohanga Reo = Maori language nests (0-5year olds)
Te Kura Reo Rua O Motatau = Motatau Bilingual School
Te Reo Maori = Maori language
Te Reo Pakeha = English language
Tupuna = Ancestors
Waananga = Tribal University(s)
Whakapapa = Genealogy
Whanau = Family

The Preservation and Use of Our Languages: Respecting the Natural Order of the Creator

Verna J. Kirkness

The importance of language as an expression of culture, of who we are as a people, must be upheld by each individual, each family, each community, and each nation. As Fishman (1996) states, language is the mind, spirit, and soul of a people. Every effort must be made to protect, preserve, promote, and practice our Indigenous/Aboriginal languages. We must gather into the circle all the knowledge, wisdom, and energy we possess to ensure their survival.

Over the last thirty years, various programs and projects have been initiated in an attempt to keep our languages alive. We must especially recognize and thank our Elders and language teachers for their perseverance in efforts to save our languages despite the lack of support given to them.

As a world community of Indigenous people, we are faced with many common challenges in our attempts to maintain the vitality of our respective languages and to honour "the natural order of the Creator." But in the end, the preservation and use of our languages depends on our communities: "When the smallest of our communities hangs on to their language.... [it] allows your community to continue and to redevelop and recreate itself...[as it links] one generation to the next" (D. Crombie as quoted in Kirkness, 1989, p. 26). The challenge we face today is to ensure that the work at all levels to protect and preserve our languages is being done to provide for the specific needs of the communities. The following are ten directions that I consider to be critical to the task:

1. We Must Bank Our Languages.

To save what remains of our languages, it is crucial that we preserve them immediately by recording on audiotape, videotape, or CD-ROM all of our fluent speakers, most of whom are our Elders. We must capture the purest oral forms of our languages to ensure that they will be available to future generations. Although today it may not be important to many of our people to speak their ancestral language, when the "wake-up" call does come, as I am sure it will, the languages that we "bank" now will make possible a new period of cultural renaissance among our people. In fact, the very act of recording our languages may produce the spark that inspires the community to begin the process of language revival and maintenance.

At the current rate of decline, only four of our original 60 Aboriginal languages in Canada have a reasonable chance of surviving the next century. Cree, Ojibwa, Inuktitut, and Dakota are the languages predicted to survive (University of British Columbia, 1996). The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP, 1996) reported that Cree speakers make up 43% of all those with an Aboriginal mother tongue. Although this may simply be a reflection of the population, it nonetheless presents a frightening picture of the remaining Aboriginal languages.

For those of us who are Cree, it is difficult to take any great comfort in this fact as we experience our own loss of fluency in the language and hear fewer and fewer of the younger generation speaking the Cree language. The RCAP also states that five of our languages have already become extinct and six more are near extinction (Haida, Kutenai, Tsimshian, Tlingit, most Salishan and Wakashan languages).

2. We Must Raise the Consciousness Level of Our People.

To save our languages, there is a need to ensure that our people know why our languages are nearing extinction and why our languages are so important to our lives and to who we are. To do this, we can employ two strategies.

First, we must do as Paulo Freire, the radical Brazilian educator who spent a lifetime working with the oppressed in South America and Africa, has done. We must ensure that every Aboriginal man, woman, and child knows of their oppression. They must know how the oppressors "stole" their language and culture through schooling in residential schools and day schools, how the Indian Act has destroyed their identity, and how all this has contributed to the weakening of Our People and their communities: "Only through knowing can the oppressed recognize the ideological distortions that influence and shape their understanding of social and political reality" (Freire, 1978). The impact of years of brainwashing must be revealed and understood.

Second, we must ensure that every Aboriginal man, woman, and child knows the effect language has on their lives. Language is what gives us our identity and expresses our unique worldview. Language is the ultimate symbol of belonging; it is through language that culture is shared and transmitted. If we lose our language, we are essentially losing a way of life, a way of thought, a way of valuing and a particular human reality. If you take language "away from the culture, you take away its greetings, its curses, its praises, its laws, its literature, its songs, its riddles, its proverbs, its cures, its wisdom, its prayers" (Fishman, 1996, p. 81).

Without our Aboriginal languages, we are not remaining true to "the natural order of the Creator." At the 1988 Aboriginal Language Policy Conference, Grand Chief Mike Mitchell related the following words of his grandfather:

> What would happen to the Creator's law if the robin couldn't sing its song anymore? We would feel very bad: We would understand that something snapped in nature's law. What would happen if you saw a robin and you heard a different song, if it was singing the song of the sea gull? You would say, "Robin, that's not your language; that's not your song."

To this Chief Mitchell added: "It was not meant for us to lose our language; we broke the cycle, and today we have nothing to stand on if our language is going to die."

3. We Must Mobilize Our Resources.

The most important and valuable resources we have to save our languages today are our human resources. Our speakers of the language, whether totally or marginally fluent, are the key to enabling us to maintain the "Creator's natural order."

As Timoti Karetu, the New Zealand Maori Language Commissioner, states: "The revitalization of a language is dependent upon the will of its speakers." To set up a language bank, for instance, it will take speakers who may not consider themselves to be fluent, but who have sufficient command of the language, to interview the more fluent speakers. The onus and responsibility falls on the youngest generation of speakers who have the education, vitality, and stamina to pursue the range of activity that is needed to save our languages. Ways and means must be identified that enable them to play an active role in revitalizing our languages.

The other critical resource needed is money. While not all initiatives require money, many do. We must get the government and the churches to acknowledge their responsibility in the demise of our languages and get them to provide the financial resources required to enable us to save our languages. As monies become available, Aboriginal people with language expertise and a passion for language renewal must have a voice in organizing a plan of action that will be of benefit to all language groups.

4. We Must Provide Training and Certification.

To save our languages, we must have appropriate, certified training programs available to enable our people to become language teachers, linguists, interpreters, translators, curriculum developers, and researchers.

It is not sufficient just to have language training workshops or short courses. It is not sufficient just to have isolated courses provided by various colleges or universities. Even a range of courses offered in a Native Studies, education, or other degree is not sufficient. What is required is a full scale training program leading to a certificate, degree, or diploma in Indigenous/Aboriginal languages or, even better, in a particular language or language family. Building in "prior learning assessment" will give the fluent speakers an advantage. As the Maori of New Zealand are doing, our own qualification boards should be established to provide guidelines for standards to be obtained in the various categories. If articulation with institutions of higher learning is desired, the qualification boards can be affiliated with the provincial or territorial certification authorities.

The training of teachers to teach the language, through either immersion or as a second language, requires particular skills. Current approaches are basically ineffective because they are based on the old grammar teaching methods used to teach English, which is the only model available to many of our fluent speakers. Of greatest importance is the need to identify "best practice pedagogy" based on the traditions of our people.

5. We Must Develop a Comprehensive and Appropriate Curriculum.

Curriculum development is necessary if we are to be successful in recreating an intergenerational transmission process. It is only through passing on the language from parent to child that our languages can truly survive. If two successive generations do not speak the language, it will be lost; we need a planned intervention. A community approach to developing language curriculum would be the most effective way to ensure that there is an opportunity for everyone to get involved in learning the language. It cannot be left up to the schools; it must be a family and community responsibility.

To teach our languages effectively, planning is critical. In the case of planning language programs community-wide, it is important that an overall plan be prepared that would encompass preschool through to adult learning in both formal institutions (schools) and community programs. This will ensure that learning is continuous and will avoid unnecessary duplication.

The community must take the lead and be actively involved in planning and implementing language programs. Only the people of the community can put a plan into the appropriate contextual framework. The plan must be based on the philosophy of the people, and the goals must be clearly articulated by them. For example, is the goal to be able to converse in the language? Is it to attain literacy? How will this be accomplished stage by stage? Who will be the teachers? What materials will be required? What teaching methods will be employed? How will progress be assessed?

6. We Must Engage in Meaningful Research.

The purpose of research is to find answers to questions, and researching important questions may well be the most critical area to be addressed if we are to save our languages. The most urgent questions needing research pertain to the creation of successful and effective models of language renewal.

In an article entitled "At a Loss for Words," Stephen Hume (1998) asks two important questions: "Why were the Hungarians able to preserve their language for over 5,000 years despite repeated reinvention of their original culture and social structure...? Why is Welsh undergoing an explosive renaissance among teenagers and young adults?" Researching the answers to these two questions would provide us with a wealth of understanding and direction in addressing our situation.

Other languages that have successfully been rescued from near extinction are Hebrew in Israel, Catlan in Spain, and Maori in New Zealand. Learning about the processes they used to revive their languages would answer a number of our questions. This information is critical to curriculum development, teaching methodology, training and certification of teachers and other language professionals, and to our understanding of language acquisition.

We really know very little about our languages. Little is known about how English or French are learned, and less is known about how Indigenous languages are learned. Will knowledge of our traditions help us to understand how we learn? We talk about building on cultural traditions, yet little research has

been done in this area. Carl Urion and Walter Lightning suggest that traditions cannot be written down (Urion, Norton, & Porter, 1995). Does this suggest an oral approach to research? This is an exciting possibility.

We have to get inside our language for deeper meaning. As Earle Claxton states, quoted in Hume's (1998) article, "The more you get into language, the more you get to the very heart of the culture and spirit." Learning how words and sentences are constructed gives us information about our culture, our way of thinking. Learning how our stories were told, how knowledge was imparted, sheds light on who we are as a people. How often have we said, "It is difficult to translate this into English"? This tells us that there is a uniqueness to our language. Only by expanding our knowledge of our languages can we begin a meaningful process of language revival and preservation.

7. We Must Inform Public Opinion.

Canadian society as a whole must be informed about the state of our languages. Articles, such as the one by Stephen Hume in *The Vancouver Sun*, must appear in all forms of media. Although non-Aboriginal advocates write articles and books and give interviews, there is a need for us, as Indigenous/Aboriginal people, to do more to promote an understanding of the state of our languages to the general public. We too could publish articles in magazines and newspapers and take advantage of radio or television talk shows to get our message out.

Public opinion is important in gaining government support. The more understanding there is about the critical state of our languages, the reasons for our predicament, and our efforts to save our languages, the greater the empathy will be for our situation.

8. We Must Eliminate Artificial Boundaries.

When it comes to saving our languages, we must use a "natural order of the Creator" approach. That is, we must not acknowledge artificial boundaries that have no significance to language. Basing Aboriginal language policy within provincial boundaries makes little sense when Cree is spoken in at least six provinces and when Sioux is spoken in at least two provinces and in the United States. Working within these boundaries creates a duplication of effort and resources. In the case of British Columbia, the boundary between Canada and Alaska should be disregarded because both places share common languages.

We must also avoid using the political boundaries established by our national Aboriginal organizations. For example, the Assembly of First Nations, the Metis National Council, the Congress of Aboriginal Peoples, and the Native Women's Association of Canada, along with their provincial and territorial affiliates, all represent Cree speakers. Again, as in the case of provincial and territorial boundaries, there is a duplication of effort and resources.

The "natural order of the Creator" suggests that we should use the eleven language families that have been identified as a starting point. Surely, the family should make decisions about its future. Just as in the real world, the language

families vary in size with Algonkian and Athapaskan being the largest and the six language families in British Columbia being the smallest. The large families may well subdivide, but only after the family has had an opportunity to assess its situation. This approach to saving our languages would ensure that our efforts are more concentrated, with more sharing of human and financial resources.

9. We Must Press for Aboriginal Language Legislation.

It is the position of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada that the protection and use of our languages is an inherent right, a treaty right, a constitutional right, an Aboriginal right, and a human right. There is both a legal and a moral obligation for the Government of Canada to recognize our language rights. There are precedents for legislation to protect and maintain indigenous languages.

The First Nations Confederacy of Cultural Education Centres has proposed an Aboriginal Languages Act with a provision for an Aboriginal Languages Foundation. The Act would bring into law the recognition of the rights and freedoms of Aboriginal peoples to protect, revitalize, maintain, and use their languages. The Act would include a provision for the appropriation of funds through the establishment of an incorporated, endowed Aboriginal Languages Foundation (Kirkness, 1998).

The legal right to the protection and restoration of our languages must be accompanied by the effective right. The effective right means access to the knowledge, strategies, and resources necessary to rebuild and revive our languages. The legal right without the effective right is of little value (Reyhner, 1996). In other words, the government must commit substantial funding to the Foundation to enable us to develop and control the processes, resources, and activities needed to protect, preserve, promote, and practice our languages.

10. We Must Work Together.

To accomplish the previous nine suggestions of how we might save our languages, we must work together, whether it be as a family, a community, or on a national level. We must take stock of where we stand in respect to our languages. If we are "for saving our languages," then we must assess what each of us is prepared to do about it. Is it going to be a family effort? How can our commitment and passion become a community effort? Are we willing to help to get the language families together to make long range decisions about the languages? How are we going to ensure that the political will of government and of our political leadership coincide for the benefit of all our languages?

We do not have any time to lose. We, as Indigenous/Aboriginal people, must get behind the work that has been done over the last 25 years and support and accelerate these efforts in a coordinated way. We must engage in a common strategy to make our languages living and vibrant once again. When this happens, we will be following the "natural order of the Creator," and we can expect a better life for ourselves and for future generations.

I would like to leave you with the words of the Maliseet Honour Code written by Imelda Perley, who presents us all with the ultimate challenge:

Grandmothers And Grandfathers
Thank You For Our Language
That You Have Saved For Us.
It Is Now Our Turn To Save It
For The Ones Who Are Not Yet Born.

May That Be The Truth

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Māori—New Zealand Latin?

Timoti S. Karetu

The cynics, the pessimists, and the many so-called pundits of language revitalization have it, on their own very good authority needless to say, that the Māori language is to be the Latin of Aotearoa/New Zealand. In other words, this statement consigns Māori to being a language of ritual but not a language of every day communication or of any importance in the greater scheme of things.

In some ways, it is flattering to think that the Māori language could well be the Latin of Aotearoa because Latin is a language that has had a vast influence on English and continues to do so despite not being spoken for some centuries. However, being the person that I am, I doubt the generosity of spirit of the dominant culture, and I am certain that consigning Māori to a merely ritual function is what is really intended by the comment; it is not intended to mean that the Māori language is influencing the brand of English spoken in Aotearoa to any marked degree.

It can be stated without fear of contradiction, though, that the Māori language has had some influence on the English spoken in Aotearoa, considering that Māori words are being used in the media and have become part of every day speech. It can also be stated, however, that English has had some effect on spoken Māori, and it is a constant battle to ensure that the Māori spoken by the youth does not become English with Māori words.

Although language must change to survive, this does not mean the wholesale discarding of good traditional ways of expression and their replacement with grammatical structures that are unnatural to a native speaker's ear, yet sound so wonderful and clever to the ear of a second language learner. I am certain that the very high proportion of second language learners who exist in all our cultures will have an impact on our languages, but their influence must not be permitted to dominate, particularly if their changed forms are incorrect or have no innate wairua or ethos that emanates from the language itself. Native speakers all—to battle stations!

Māori is already a language of ritual as well as a language of everyday conversation, and no Māori function is complete without all introductory and prefatory remarks and opening rituals being conducted in Māori, whether it be the welcoming or saying farewell to guests, the discussion of issues important to the tribe, weddings, birthdays, other important social events as well as the rituals surrounding the mourning and the burial of the dead. I am certain that such is also the case within your cultures.

All members of parliament wishing to attract the attention of the Māori realize that they must have someone with them who is capable of responding in an appropriate way when being formally welcomed on to marae throughout the country and who is also capable of noting the principal points in the speeches made by the Elders. Māori members of parliament accept that they need to earn their linguistic laurels if they are to be effective Māori representatives. Many a

political reputation has been compromised because of a lack of ability to speak Māori or to appreciate the Māori dimension.

Those of you who have been to Aotearoa and have been on to marae will realize what I am saying because you will have experienced the rituals of welcome to which I refer and will know that Māori is the dominant language in those situations. In all of Polynesia, we are, probably, the most formal when welcoming and saying farewell to guests. There are strict codes of etiquette to be observed on both occasions, and a tribe's mana, reputation, will suffer a great deal if guests are not treated as kawa, etiquette, requires. Such is still the case in the year 2000.

To return to my basic premise, from 1993-1999, we had a National government, and the Minister of Māori Affairs, a Māori himself, set up what he called four "think tanks" to address matters of great concern to the Māori. One of those think tanks was asked to have a long, hard look at the whole area of Māori education, including the place of language in the education system.

As a consequence of that think tank's being established, the following report was submitted to the Minister: *The Final Report: Māori Language Revitalization.* It was given to me to comment on, and it was during my reading of it that I encountered the statement "New Zealand Latin." The same report also stated,

> Language revitalization is not an isolated phenomenon. To succeed, it must be grounded in the aspirations and values of a community whose members are prepared to co-operate with each other in making the language part of their daily lives.

This latter statement I have no problem with because it is true.

Concerning the Latin reference, however, I have to admit that, from the outset, I was angered by the implication because Latin is referred to as a "dead language." I do not accept that Māori is a dead language—far from it! We might well be struggling for our language's survival, but it is categorically and emphatically not dead as a language.

I realize that I am daring to argue against the findings of academics and respected names in the field of language maintenance and survival from around the world, but I too have my opinions, and they differ quite markedly from those of my learned colleagues.

In some ways, we are no different from any other language seeking to assert itself in a climate that is none too receptive, where many people believe that our survival as a distinct linguistic entity will be to the detriment of any so-called political and social unity. If effective change is to be facilitated, then it is we who should lie down and die rather than prolong the death throes. But as my ancestors said "engari mō tēnā!"

I do not wish to reiterate here things that you might have heard at other conferences where there have been Māori in attendance, but, suffice to say, we are resisting. Slowly, but ever so surely, we are making some headway, as I am certain all of us involved in this field are. Progress might be barely discernible in some instances, but it is progress nonetheless.

I am certain that our situations approximate each other despite our differing histories. The active suppression of our languages and many of our cultural practices by another culture, supposedly more technologically superior, reveals to us now with historical hindsight just how ignorant, arrogant, and ruthless that culture was, and still is, to have its own way despite protestations to being Christian.

I can cite many historical examples of cruelty, all in the name of Christianity, and while our history does not record the barbarous acts perpetrated elsewhere in the world, there were acts committed that guaranteed we would lose our linguistic and cultural identity if we were not on the *qui vive*.

In 1867, the governor at that time promulgated a law that stated that only schools teaching through the medium of English would be funded from the public coffers. With the gospel of education being actively preached everywhere, it was only a matter of time before the Māori language would be spoken less and less within the school precincts and then less and less in the communities that fed those schools.

The very tool that was touted to be the one that would stand everyone well in the new environment was to be the very tool that guaranteed a rapid language loss from 92% of the population that identified itself as Māori in 1910 to about 25% in 1970. Now that figure is back up to about 50% as a consequence of a language resurgence that began in the early 1970s and has accelerated since, particularly among the young educated and the urban dwellers. It is these latter demographic categories that are most actively involved socially, economically, and politically in the whole area of Māori language survival and maintenance.

Perhaps the most revolutionary developments in the language resurgence situation in our country have been kōhanga reo (pre-school total immersion centres, of which there are some 750 or so at present) and kura kaupapa (total immersion schools from Grades 1-12). There are some 80 or so schools that have been licensed, and there are more in the pipeline waiting licensing from government. Kura kaupapa permit children who have been in kōhanga reo to continue their education in Māori and then to continue on to university, where most Māori departments teach principally through the medium of Māori. Theses written in Māori at the Master's level may be submitted for acceptance by examining bodies. The University of Waikato in Hamilton was the first to do so in 1978.

However, as *The Final Report* alluded to earlier states:

> Nevertheless, schools cannot revitalize a language without the support of the home and a neighbourhood where it can be passed on as a mother tongue from one generation to the next, and used naturally within each generation as well.

Furthermore, teachers at all levels need to be good because, as the report states,

> incompetent teachers can do tremendous harm which becomes very difficult to remedy after the fact. There can be no compromise on quality in teacher education and this includes linguistic competence in the language or languages which are to be used in the classroom.

On 1 August 1987, Māori was declared to be an official language of Aotearoa, along with English. Under that piece of legislation, the Māori Language Commission was established. One of its principal tasks was to promote the language as an every day language as well as to take some responsibility for lexical extension. Since its establishment, over 10,000 new words have been coined. More need to be created, however, as the world continues to change so rapidly.

All the initiatives referred to earlier are government funded, but, as we all know, that funding could well disappear should governments so deem it. While governments have come and gone, there has been much to criticize, but also much to laud, for there are always brickbats where one might also find bouquets.

As a point of interest, it should be noted that kōhanga reo came into existence because of the Elders around 1980. They were concerned at what they perceived to be a rapid rate of language loss, and they wished to arrest it—hence, the pre-school total immersion centres. The four principal tenets of the kōhanga reo movement are:

1. Total immersion in the Māori language.
2. Whānau decision making, management, and responsibility.
3. Accountability, culturally and administratively.
4. Ensure the health and well being of the children in Kōhanga Reo.

The many Elders who created this initiative are no longer with us, but their legacy continues to flourish.

Although one might applaud or even envy these many initiatives, there is a crucial factor that needs to be acknowledged, which is the question of speakers. It seems so obvious, in fact, almost insulting to you, to state that, for any language to survive, it must have speakers. No matter what initiatives might be achieved, if apathy and lethargy continue to be rampant, then no language will survive.

As current parlance would have it, "you've got to walk the talk." In other words, mere rhetoric will do nothing, but action will do much. Needless to say, this is a homily and a sermon I preach at every gathering of Māori I attend because it is naive to believe that political structures will guarantee language survival. Their role, as I see it, is only to provide us with the wherewithal to achieve our objectives because we know better than they do what we want and need with regard to our languages. If political climates were more receptive, then so much the better. I consider making the political climate receptive to be a crucial role of government.

However, much more fundamental is that each of us must take up the cudgels on behalf of our own languages because no one else is going to care as much as

we do. It is more than mere sentiment that drives us; it is the acknowledgement that we are our languages, and our languages are us. They are fundamental to our ethos, to whoever or whatever we are. Hence, our reason for attending a conference such as this: to be with like-minded people who do not need reams of explanation to appreciate where we are coming from and who afford our egos that little morale boost so that we are rejuvenated and ready to face the next challenge. As a young second language learner once stated: "Here's our language: it has value; it has substance; it's about one's identity."

It is for all the foregoing reasons that I, categorically, will not accept that Māori will become the Latin of Aotearoa/New Zealand. It is, after all, my language and my culture that gives my country its identity on the world stage and that makes it the unique country that it is. Yet the truth of the matter is that if we are not vigilant and if we continue to let the powers that be tell us how we should maintain our languages rather than the desire of the heart of each of us, then, as sure as eggs are eggs, our ultimate destiny will be that of the Latin language—dead: not forgotten, but no longer spoken.

The question we all need to ask ourselves is: Do we have the right to deprive generations yet unborn of the rich, cultural legacy to which they are heir? We, too, could well have been a deprived generation if it had not been for each of us here assembled, and we know how our own lives have been enriched because of our having access to that rich cultural and linguistic heritage bequeathed to us by our ancestors.

I have no doubt that each of us feels the same no matter what the country, no matter what the language, and that is why we persist, even if the odds seem stacked against us. As a proverb from my own tribe states, "iti rearea teitei kahikatea ka taea." The rearea (bellbird) is one of the smallest birds in the forest, yet it is capable of reaching the top of the kahikatea, the tallest tree in the forests of my tribal territory.

What this tells us is that all our efforts, no matter how small or minimal, are better than no effort at all, and, if that effort is sustained, we should reach those great heights—the survival of our languages.

Against the greatest odds, our languages have survived thus far, and it should be our avowed intent for those languages to survive into the next millennium with a better bill of health. Is that a dream? I think not. For we should never forget that hope is stronger and more productive than despair.

Though this millennium has just begun, it is my fervent prayer that all our languages should continue to thrive in spite of the pessimists, the cynics, and the academics. I am certain it is your prayer too, and so I say in conclusion: Fighters for language survival, I salute you all.

Tēnā anō rā koutou katoa.

Using Indigenous Languages for Teaching and Learning in Zimbabwe

Juliet Thondhlana

The question of which language(s) to use for teaching and learning is a crucial one in bilingual and multilingual contexts. In former colonial countries, it is a question that has occupied the agendas of many governments since they attained independence. Some countries have made strides towards addressing it (e.g., Tanzania and Nigeria), although it continues to haunt others. As recently as 1997, African state representatives gathered in Harare, Zimbabwe for an inter-governmental conference on language policies in Africa hosted by UNESCO in order to discuss the question of language planning and policy in Africa. The meeting resulted in the Harare Declaration in which each country represented declared its commitment to the vision for Africa as expressed in the following statements:

- A democratic Africa that seeks to enhance the active participation of all citizens in all institutions—social, economic, political, et cetera;
- A democratic Africa where development is not construed in narrow economic goals but instead in terms of a culturally valued way of living together; and within a broader context of justice, fairness and equity for all; respect for linguistic rights as human rights, including those of minorities;
- In broader terms, Africa that acknowledges its ethno-linguistic pluralism and accepts this as a normal way of life and as a rich resource for development and progress;
- A democratic Africa that seeks to promote peaceful coexistence of people in a society where pluralism does not entail replacement of one language or identity by another, but instead promotes complementary of functions as well as co-operation and a sense of common destiny;
- Africa where democratisation in a pluralistic context seeks to produce through sound and explicit language policies Africans who are able to operate effectively at local levels as well as at regional and international levels;
- A democratic Africa that provides the environment for the promotion and preservation of an African identity as well as the cultivation of a proud and confident African personality;
- Africa where scientific and technological discourse is conducted in the national languages as part of our cognitive preparation for facing the challenges of the next millennium. (Chimhundu et al., 1997)

The representatives made a commitment to seriously take positive steps towards implementing language planning and policy that, among other issues, takes into account the raising of the status and usage of indigenous languages. In this paper, I raise arguments for the use of indigenous languages as languages of

learning and teaching, with special reference to Zimbabwe. The paper will give a brief description of the language situation in Zimbabwe. It will then address the question of why it is important to use indigenous languages as languages of learning and teaching. It will also consider what steps Zimbabwe has taken towards stabilizing its indigenous languages before and after the Harare Declaration. The paper will conclude by putting forward suggestions as to how Zimbabwe can implement the use of indigenous languages in education. It is hoped that this discussion, although it will focus on Zimbabwe, will be relevant to other countries in Africa and elsewhere that are faced with similar linguistic problems.

Zimbabwe: Language Situation

Zimbabwe is a Southern African country. It has a population of about 13 million made up of broadly African and European categories of population. There are also smaller groups of people of Asian origin. Zimbabwe is, therefore, a multilingual/multicultural nation. There are three main national languages in Zimbabwe. These are Shona, Ndebele, and English. Of the three, English is the national official language; Shona and Ndebele are national languages. In addition to the three main national languages, there are fourteen minority indigenous languages as follows:

- Kalanga (predominantly spoken Zimbabwe but also spoken in Botswana)
- Nyanja/Chewa (predominantly spoken in Malawi)
- Tonga (predominantly spoken in Zambia; also spoken in Namibia, Botswana, and Mozambique)
- Nambya (Zimbabwean)
- Hwesa (Zimbabwean)
- Shangani (predominantly spoken in South Africa; also spoken in Mozambique)
- Barwe (predominantly spoken in Mozambique)
- Sotho (predominantly spoken in Lesotho, also Africa)
- Venda (predominantly spoken in South Africa)
- Chikunda (predominantly spoken in Mozambique; also Zambia)
- Xhosa (predominantly spoken in South Africa)
- Sena (predominantly spoken in Mozambique)
- Tshwawo (Khoisan) (also spoken in Botswana, Namibia, and Zambia)
- Tswana (predominantly spoken in Botswana and South Africa)

The minority groups constitute approximately 10% of the total Zimbabwean population. Six of these minority languages, namely, Kalanga, Shangani, Chewa, Venda, Tonga, and Nambya are officially recognized.

Zimbabwe, like many African countries, tends to follow the policy of using the former colonial language (English in this case) as the official language of much of parliament, trade and industry, the mass media, and education. Although Shona and Ndebele are now accepted for use in some formal domains, such as in

the senate and as a language of instruction in lower primary education, English continues to dominate as the national official language. In education, English continues to be the dominant language. The latest Education Act (1987, as amended in 1990) states that:

1. The three main languages of Zimbabwe, namely Shona, Ndebele and English, shall be taught in all primary schools from the first grade as follows—
   a. Shona and English in all areas where the mother-tongue of the majority of the residents is Shona or
   b. Ndebele and English in all areas where the mother tongue of the majority of the residents is Ndebele.
2. Prior to the fourth grade, either of the languages referred to in paragraph (a) or (b) of sub-section (1) may be used as the medium of instruction, depending upon which language is more commonly spoken and better understood by the pupils.
3. From the fourth grade, English shall be the medium of instruction provided that Shona or Ndebele shall be taught as subjects on an equal-time allocation as the English language.
4. In areas where minority languages exist, the Minister may authorise the teaching of such languages in primary schools in addition to those specified in sub-section (1), (2) and (3). (Part XI, Section 55, p.255)

As shown above, although all the major languages enjoy some small degree of prominence under the Act, English continues to enjoy the central role, as indicated in sub-section (3) and in the non-obligatory nature of the early primary school mother-tongue instruction. Further, this recognition is largely in word only. In Zimbabwe, most schools prefer to use English from the outset to ensure their students' proficiency in English, which is considered the language of power and economic wellbeing. It should be noted that, when they start school, most of these children have very low or no proficiency in English. Teachers and parents are concerned that, after the third grade, when they have to switch to English, the children's low level of proficiency in English would make learning difficult and detract from whatever they would have learnt so far in the mother tongue. In the case of minority languages, it has been noted that implementation of this Act is even more difficult because the few teachers who are proficient in the languages are not deployed in the relevant areas. This is because deployment of teachers does not involve consideration of the question of lower primary medium of instruction.

Another fact that demonstrates the continued dominance of English is the fact that the minimum pass level in Zimbabwe is five "O" (Ordinary) level subjects, and one of these five subjects should be English. Generally, without a pass in "O" level English, one cannot be considered for further education and employment. It should be noted that Shona, Ndebele, or any of the other indigenous languages are, currently, not acceptable substitutes. On the teaching

of Shona as a subject, Chiwome and Thondhlana (1990) have noted that, even in the teaching of Shona subjects, some teachers prefer to use English as the medium of instruction and some Shona students prefer to write their essays about Shona in English when they are given a choice. However, research has revealed some degree of code switching between English and indigenous languages in classrooms of grades and forms beyond grade three (Chitiga, 1994). The significance of this practice is yet to be determined. There is also an added problem. In Zimbabwe, as well as elsewhere in Africa, bilingualism has tended to be subtractive because the socio-cultural attributes of indigenous languages have been denigrated in favour of those of the colonial language, which is considered to be more prestigious. This has even resulted in some Africans, educated through the medium of a colonial language, shunning their mother tongues (Sure & Webb, 2000). It is not surprising, therefore, that, in Zimbabwe, English continues to dominate the education system. There has been, in many cases, little or no conscious effort to promote students' cognitive skills (memory, ability to generalize, ability to grasp relationships such as cause and effect, ability to predict consequences, ability to grasp the essential message of a text); their affective skills (positive attitude to work, loyalty to one's country, tolerance for diversity); and their social skills (ability to work together with, communicate, and support others) in their mother tongue. Consequently, there have been no efforts to promote the use of the mother tongue in technological and intellectual discourse.

The above situation has had some of the following serious consequences for educational development in Zimbabwe:

- Indigenous languages have not been taken seriously as subjects of study.
- Too much emphasis has been placed on proficiency in English, which, in many cases, is introduced to children from the first day of school.
- Proficiency in the mother tongue is, in some cases, jeopardized because teachers and parents focus on learning English at school and home. It is saddening that, in some cases, children come to school proficient in their mother-tongues but soon begin to lose this as the focus is shifted to developing proficiency in English both at school and home.

Despite what appears to be a negative picture regarding Zimbabwe's indigenous languages, some steps have been taken towards stabilizing them. Notable are the following:

- The launching of the ALLEX (African Languages and Literature Lexicography) project at the University of Zimbabwe, which, among other activities, is involved in the development of dictionaries and the creation of literary and technical terminology in indigenous languages. So far, the project has seen the publishing of the first monolingual dictionary in Shona, and another one is expected soon in the Ndebele language.

- The institutionalization of the ALLEX project as the ALRI (African Languages Research Institute) at the University of Zimbabwe. This institute is, in general, responsible for the systematic studying, documenting, and developing of the languages of Zimbabwe.
- The setting up of a national policy advisory panel in 1997. This panel has since submitted its recommendations to government concerning how a comprehensive national language policy should be formulated.
- There are moves to make Shona and Ndebele national official languages along with English as well as to officially recognize all minority indigenous languages of Zimbabwe. This has yet to be gazetted and implemented.
- Development of fictional literature and language books in indigenous languages, particularly in the case of Shona and Ndebele.
- A significant increase in the teaching of Shona and Ndebele as second languages to a variety of learners, both foreign and local (especially in predominantly native-English speaking schools—though the teaching is still unsatisfactory).
- The introduction of a Shona-Ndebele newspaper (though more should be introduced).
- Some, though limited, use of some indigenous languages in parliament, business, education, and media.

Although these are steps in the right direction, it seems obvious that Zimbabwe needs to give the question of the status and usage of indigenous languages some very serious thought. In the next section, I look at why it is important to introduce indigenous languages in education as the languages of teaching and learning and as subjects of study.

Indigenous Languages in Education

On the question of the status and usage of indigenous languages versus those of an ex-colonial language, arguments have been put forward for maintaining the exclusive official status and usage of the ex-colonial language. Sure and Webb (2000) observe that, although the use of colonial languages in education has led to serious problems, it has also brought with it "enormous advantages such as access to knowledge, creativity and entertainment of the entire western world, as well as global trade and commerce" (p. 126). They further argue that "European languages have become an integral part of the lives of the African people, and are indeed resources to be nurtured and developed" (Sure & Webb, 2000, p. 126).

There is also the argument that learning a former colonial language does not necessarily involve taking on a new cultural identity. This is attested to by work coming out of English schools world-wide, which has shown that it is possible to adapt a language to give expression to the cultural and intellectual peculiarities of another world. Yet, as noted by Williams and Snipper (1990, p. 50), language encompasses not only communication, but also heritage, culture,

and feelings. It is, therefore, important to note that maintaining a speaker's native language has an affective dimension, that of enhancing the speakers' self-concepts and their pride in their cultural background and identity.

There are other reasons why it is important to use indigenous languages as the languages of teaching and learning. First, as argued by Kembo (2000), cognitive and affective development occurs more effectively in a language that the learner knows very well. This is particularly important because, as reported in the literature, most children from Zimbabwe and elsewhere who are learning through a former colonial language are not proficient in the colonial language when they enter school since their exposure to the school language is often minimal in the home. Second, it is argued that learning in general (including second language learning) occurs more effectively if the required cognitive development has already taken place through the use of a first language as a language of learning. Cummins (1984) argues that "optimal first language education provides a rich cognitive preparation for the acquisition of a second language" (in Kembo, 2000, p. 289) and that the literacy and cognitive skills already acquired in the first language provide easy transition to second-language medium education.

The above points underscore the importance of using indigenous languages in education. There are steps that Zimbabwe can take to achieve this goal. This paper concludes by listing some of these in the following section.

Conclusion: The Way Forward

Bilingualism/multilingualism is a reality for most people living in bilingual/multilingual environments. Any solution to linguistic problems that plague bilingual/multilingual societies has, therefore, to be sought in the context of bilingualism/multilingualism. There was a time when, owing to ignorance, bilingualism/multilingualism was viewed with suspicion. It was thought that bilingualism creates more tasks for the brain than is necessary, leads to mental confusion as the child tries to work out which language to use in a particular communicative situation, slows down acquisition of the second language, leads to a split personality, and creates cultural and political division (Sure & Webb, 2000). Concerning the last point, writing about language and colonial power with specific reference to Belgian Congo, Fabian (1986) observes that, in colonial Africa, multilingualism was viewed as a threat to order. Use of many languages was equated with confusion. Even use of two languages was perceived as making the "orderly exercise of government difficult" (p. 48). It was, therefore, suggested that attempts be made to remove such disorder by radical "unification," that is, exclusive use of one language. Failing that, it was suggested that there be established hierarchical relations among languages. This was because freedom of coexistence, interaction, and competition amongst languages was seen as a threat to authority. The colonial language came out "naturally" on top as the exclusive language of the highest levels of administration.

Recent research, however, has revealed that, contrary to earlier beliefs, bilingualism has a number of advantages. Peal and Lambert (1962, in Sure &

Webb, 2000) concluded that bilinguals perform better in intelligence tests than do monolinguals, that they have greater mental flexibility and superior abstract thinking and concept formation, and that bilingualism stimulates further IQ development. It is noted, however, that bilingualism can only be positive when children are trained to a level of stable bilingualism, where competence in the mother tongue is comparable to that in the second language, what Cummins calls the "threshold level" (1979, in Sure and Webb, 2000). Bilinguals with a high level of bilingual proficiency showed positive cognitive effects while limited bilinguals, weak in both mother tongue and second language, showed negative cognitive effects (Toukmaa & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1997, in Williams & Snipper, 1990, p. 55).

In seeking to stabilize Zimbabwean languages, it should be noted that, in Zimbabwe and in Africa in general, multilingualism is a norm. Many children grow up in environments where more than one indigenous language is spoken, and they develop proficiency in one or more of these (Sure & Webb, 2000, p. 122). Also, as noted earlier, colonial languages have become an integral part of the lives of most African people and should be nurtured and developed. It appears here that the way forward should be to turn a bad past into something positive, and bilingual education seems to offer acceptable possibilities. The term bilingual education is used to describe "any system of school education in which, at a given moment in time and for a varying amount of time, simultaneously or consecutively, instruction is planned and given in at least two languages" (Hamers & Blanc, 1992, p. 189).

Hamers and Blanc (1992) have identified three categories of bilingual education as follows:

- Instruction is given in both languages;
- Instruction is given first in the first language, and the pupil is taught until such time as he or she is able to use the second language as a medium of learning;
- The largest part of instruction is given through the second language, and the first language is introduced later—first as a subject and later as a medium of instruction.

In my view, in the spirit of promoting bilingualism, the first option, instruction given in both languages, would be most desirable. However, in the Zimbabwean context and elsewhere in Africa, one has to be realistic and consider the practicability of such a move, in view of the multiplicity of languages within most countries. Governments would need to set aside vast amounts of money for the development of dictionaries, teaching materials, and bilingual teacher-training programs. That kind of money may not be readily available, and the process takes time to plan and implement.

A more practicable alternative in the short term is the second option above. Initially, a local indigenous language would be used throughout the primary grades while English would be taught only as a subject. I suggest here an increased

period of mother tongue instruction to allow adequate time for the acquisition and development of cognitive, affective, and social skills through the mother tongue. This would be in line with the Language Transferability Theory (Cummins, 1981, in Williams & Snipper, 1990, p. 54). According to this theory, languages have a common underlying proficiency, and the concepts understood in one language are transferable to the other. Indigenous language instruction would continue until the indigenous languages were sufficiently developed to be used effectively alongside English. I envision a situation where, in a Ndebele-English environment, for example, a teacher could choose to use either of the two languages in his or her class or could just code-switch as necessary. Furthermore, students could be free to write their assignments and examinations in the language of their choice. There is, however, a need to carry out more research to determine factors underlying bilingual education typologies. Social, historical, ideological, and other factors need to be examined in the context of Zimbabwe.

In conclusion, listed below are some suggested steps that need to be taken towards stabilizing indigenous languages in Zimbabwe:

- The Zimbabwean government should, with guidance from the National Policy Advisory Panel, consider seriously the recommendations of that panel and set in motion the formulation of a comprehensive national language policy that takes into account the use of indigenous languages in education.
- There must be a stronger move towards strengthening mother tongue education in order to provide a firm foundation for later education in both the indigenous and English languages. In this case, lengthen the period for mother tongue instruction in order to give adequate time for skills development and consolidation. In this regard, Cummins (1981, in Williams & Snipper, 1990, p. 54) suggests that languages have a common underlying proficiency. He argues that when concepts are learned in the stronger language, they can later be expressed in the second language without having to be relearned. The concepts known in the first language are, therefore, transferable to the second language.
- Teachers must be provided with solid bilingual training.
- Language planners must give the former colonial language and indigenous languages equal functional status. If indigenous languages are used in teaching and in school subject exams, they will gain prestige, which will increase the need to study them seriously.
- The Zimbabwean government and educational planners must put money into the development of indigenous languages—for lexicography work, development of grammars, translation, teaching materials production, and bilingual teacher training.
- African governments should be encouraged to harmonize African languages. Many African languages are spoken across borders. In many cases, what is a minority language in one country is a majority language

in another. Countries like this do not have to duplicate efforts in terms of materials development, for example. African states should, therefore, work together to share materials and manpower training just as in the case of English across borders. This would reduce the cost of developing indigenous languages.

- Bilingualism/multilingualism should be nurtured. As observed by Sure and Webb (2000), first, a person trained in his or her own mother tongue is likely to have a more positive self-image. Second, a bilingual is more culturally and linguistically flexible and has respect for other languages and their speakers. This is particularly important because there is now increased interaction among nations.

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Language Planning in a Trans-National Speech Community

Geneva Langworthy

Language revitalization efforts in the Garifuna Nation are complicated by the fact that the Garifuna community spans Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala, Belize, St. Vincent, and also the United States (see Figure 1). Establishment of shared language preservation goals and strategies is hampered by geographic dispersion, poor communication technologies, linguistic and sociolinguistic differences, and lack of resources. Unification within the Garifuna Nation, however, empowers language renewal efforts in this trans-national community.

The distribution of Garifuna communities and the decline of the Garifuna language are rooted in their history. The histories of other indigenous languages that are in decline reflect similar themes of cultural conflict. Garifuna language and culture originated on the Caribbean island of St. Vincent, with the mixing of Africans and Iñeri (Arawakan). The Garinagu (*plural*) resisted European incursion until the Carib War of 1795-1797. British victors separated the defeated Garinagu by complexion, banishing the darker-skinned Garinagu from their island homeland and beginning the Garifuna Diaspora.

The British forcefully moved 2,000 Garinagu to the Bay Islands off Honduras. From there, Garifuna people moved to the Honduran mainland, settling along the coast as far north as Belize City and south to Pearl Lagoon in Nicaragua. Since the 1950s, many Garifuna people have moved to the United States, establishing sizeable communities in Chicago, New York, and Los Angeles. The Garinagu who remained on St. Vincent following the Carib War were forbidden

Figure 1. Locations of Garifuna communities in the Caribbean and Central America.

by the British to speak their language. Garinagu in the Diaspora, however, put great emphasis on maintaining their language as a part of their Garifuna identity, or *Garifuna-duaü*. Thus, the Garifuna language was lost on their homeland *Yurumei*, but the language and culture have been maintained in Honduras, Guatemala, and Belize.

There are slight cultural and sociolinguistic differences within the Garifuna Nation, but Garifuna communities still share a common culture and ancestral language in spite of geographic dispersion. Phonological differences exist, of course; for example, there are some dialects that delete intervocalic r. Lexical differences are found based on geography as well. For instance, the important *dügü* ceremony is referred to as *válagayo* in Nicaragua. Nonetheless, Garinagu share the same ethnolinguistic norms as part of their culture, regardless of their location.

Family ties are not restricted by national boundaries either. People tend to have family in both the United States and Central America, and they may have family in more than one Central American country as well. Garifuna people are known for multilingualism, which is often necessary just for communication with relatives.

Language shift began in the Garifuna community about 20 years ago, although its effects have been dramatically different depending on the region. In Nicaragua, only a few individuals speak the Garifuna language. Honduras, in contrast, has communities in which Garifuna is still the first language of the children. In general, however, inter-generational shift from Garifuna to Creole, English, or Spanish is occurring throughout the Garifuna community.

For a number of years, the Garifuna community has struggled to be identified as a Nation, uniting across borders to work towards the common good and the perpetuation of the Garifuna people. Although no accurate figure is available, the global Garifuna population may be around 200,000; the number of speakers, however, is far fewer. Major concerns in the Garifuna Nation are not dissimilar to those of other indigenous peoples: the need for land security, for economic improvement and self-sustainability, and for maintenance and preservation of their traditional language, culture, and ideology.

Sociolinguistic Differences and Language Revitalization Goals

Language revitalization goals vary somewhat throughout the Garifuna Nation, which is a reflection of sociolinguistic differences. St. Vincent has no living speakers; the last Carib speaker died in 1932 (Taylor, 1951). English-speaking *Yurumei-na* (Garinagu from St. Vincent) have been reaching out to the Garifuna community in Belize to try to re-learn their language and culture. In Nicaragua, there are reportedly only a few elderly speakers, and a major goal there is the offering of basic language instruction.

Honduras has more complicated circumstances and goals. A significant number of children have Garifuna as their first language. Others have only passive comprehension, and still other children have no Garifuna. In general, this varies by village. The Garifuna community of Honduras united with other indigenous

people to demand more culturally and linguistically appropriate education for their children. As a result, the Ministry of Education began development of a nation-wide Educación Bilingüe Intercultural program, with funding from the World Bank (ADEPRIR, 1995). Dissatisfaction with the progress of the program (Griffin, 1997) has been overshadowed by escalating conflicts over land between indigenous people and wealthy investors in the Honduran government—conflict that has led to bloodshed several times (Langworthy, 1999).

Guatemala has a modest but thriving Garifuna community in Lívingston, or *Labuga*. Isolation seems to have helped this community to maintain the language and culture, but, as an increasingly popular tourist spot and natural trade location, Labuga is becoming more and more heterogeneous. The Garifuna community of Guatemala, which is concentrated in a small area, is well organized and has Garifuna programming on the local radio station and has pilot language instruction programs. However, acceleration of language shift in Labuga is a major concern.

Inter-generational language shift has been most dramatic in Belize, where five of the six Garifuna communities have shifted to Creole within the last two generations. Garinagu in Belize are concerned about reversing language shift. In addition, there is interest in documentation and policy, for example, standardizing the Garifuna orthography (Cayetano, 1992). In 1993, the National Garifuna Council of Belize published *Dimurei-agei*, the *People's Garifuna Dictionary*, produced by the Garifuna Lexicography Project (Cayetano, 1993). Finally, in the United States, Garinagu are interested in adult instruction in their language and the possibility of Garifuna language instruction for their children (such as after school classes or, possibly, summer language camps in Central America). Meetings at the level of the Nation to form and articulate language policy must deal with the sociolinguistic differences that create diverse language planning goals.

Technical and Logistic Challenges

The Garifuna situation is fairly unusual in that the Nation encompasses not just two or three different countries but several, including countries that are not adjacent. Within the Nation, Spanish, English, and Belize Creole are regularly spoken in addition to Garifuna; in certain locations, Maya, Miskito, or Ebonics may be spoken in Garifuna communities as well. In Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua, Garinagu are taught in Spanish, while in Belize, the United States, and St. Vincent, they are educated in English. At the very least, this affects a speaker's sensibilities towards orthography. Spanish-speaking Garinagu, for example, use *j* for [h] and *gu* for [g] in certain contexts. English-speaking Garinagu, on the other hand, do not mind seeing their language written with *c* to represent [k] or seeing the occasional geminate consonant. These issues have caused considerable delay and conflict in the adoption of a working standardized Garifuna orthography (Cayetano, 1995).

Simply arranging the forum in which to have meaningful language policy and revitalization discussions can be a major political and logistic challenge in the Garifuna Nation. Where and when to meet and who should be involved may

determine the success of such efforts. Informal and occasional networking between Garifuna leaders led to a lot of brainstorming and good ideas, but these ideas were difficult to enact; most language renewal efforts in the Garifuna Nation through the mid-1990s were localized in countries or communities. Two events led to a major breakthrough in the potential to organize and plan language revitalization projects for the Garifuna Nation: the formation of the Central American Black Organization, or Organización Negra Centroamericana (CABO/ ONECA), and the creation of a Garifuna Web site and e-mail list: Garifuna-World and GarifunaLink.

The GarifunaLink and CABO. In 1995, Belizean and Honduran Garifuna leaders agreed that some sort of pan-Central American Black organization could help empower all Black people in Central America and organize co-operation between Garifuna organizations in each country. CABO/ONECA was set up as an umbrella organization to which all other Garifuna organizations and many Black organizations in Central America belong. They have an annual meeting at which projects or referenda may be proposed for adoption by the organization, which, in essence, means receiving the support of all Black and indigenous Black people in Central America. CABO provides an official voice for the Garifuna Nation and the power of organization and unification.

The potential to co-ordinate such meetings and to facilitate communication between international Garifuna leaders and activists was greatly enhanced by the GarifunaLink, an e-mail list created in 1997 by José and Tomás Avila. This allowed instant communication between Garifuna leaders and language activists in the United States, Belize, Honduras, Guatemala, and even St. Vincent. The percentage of Garinagu able to access the Internet in order to benefit from the GarifunaLink or the Garifuna-World Web site, however, varies drastically between countries. Most GarifunaLink users are, not surprisingly, in the United States, and Belize has several times as many subscribers as Honduras, despite its much smaller Garifuna population. The need for greater access to computer technology and the Internet in isolated Garifuna communities is an educational and economic challenge that affects language maintenance. Nonetheless, the GarifunaLink has been a tremendous tool, contributing to language revitalization efforts in this trans-national speech community.

A Language Policy and Plan for the Garifuna Nation

In 1997, language planning discussion among Garifuna leaders and language activists led to a call for a language policy statement for the Garifuna Nation. A committee was formed to prepare a draft statement, which was then presented for adoption to the National Garifuna Council (NGC) of Belize. The Language Preservation Committee then took the draft language policy statement together with a Garifuna Nation language preservation plan to the annual meeting of CABO/ONECA in Labuga (Livingston, Guatemala). The policy and plan were translated into Spanish by the Organización de Desarrollo Etnico Comunitario (ODECO), the Garifuna organization based in La Ceiba, Honduras. CABO/

ONECA discussed, modified, and then ratified the Language Policy Statement of the Garifuna Nation and the Garifuna National Language Preservation Plan.

Adoption of a Garifuna language policy and plan was generally considered a major step in Garifuna language revitalization. Making reference to the United Nations Draft Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous People, the Language Policy Statement claims the right of Garifuna people to educate their children in Garifuna. The policy also calls for elaboration of literature and teaching materials in Garifuna, makes a plea for reclaiming Garifuna as the language of the home, calls for standardization of the orthography and innovation of new vocabulary, and mandates that the goals of the policy be enacted at all levels in the Garifuna Nation. The assumption behind the policy was that each village would develop a language renewal plan to articulate the specific needs of the village, which would in turn reflect the goals of the Garifuna Nation plan. In this way, the Nation had a unified vision of language maintenance that still allowed for flexibility in all circumstances.

Implementing the language policy and its results. The Language Policy Statement of the Garifuna Nation provided a legal framework by which Garifuna organizations and communities could request not just recognition but also resources and support from national governments for bilingual intercultural education and related language renewal programs. However, so far, there has been little opportunity for communities to pursue such goals; language revitalization concerns have taken a back seat to local politics in the form of battles to retain traditional land holdings.

Some Garifuna communities have developed language preservation plans as a response to the new plan and policy. Hopes of sharing methodologies and teaching materials continue to be held back by problems of communication, transportation, and lack of funds within the Garifuna Nation. In general, language maintenance and renewal efforts in the Garifuna Nation today continue to be fairly localized and discrete.

Outlook for the New Millennium

The strategy of developing an overall unifying language policy and plan that allows for flexibility at the community level seems to be a good one for a trans-national speech community such as the Garifuna Nation. The community is certainly strengthened by its unification as a Nation over and above each community's separate identification as Honduran, Belizean, or Guatemalan.

One problem with the implementation of the Language Policy and the Language Preservation Plan is that it was assumed they would have a sort of "trickle-down" effect, that once the Policy and Plan had been adopted, communities would be able to initiate their own programs. Unfortunately, the Policy and Plan have not been disseminated to the majority of the Garifuna community. The logistics of making these documents more available are daunting. Although the documents are posted on the Garifuna-World Web site, most Garinagu in Central America do not have access to the World Wide Web. Photocopying is surprisingly expensive, inaccessible, and unreliable in parts of

Central America. So simply distributing copies to each isolated Garifuna village is a major undertaking.

However, greater distribution of the Language Policy Statement and the National Language Preservation Plan are important to language revitalization efforts in the Garifuna Nation because these documents are empowering; they help to establish common language preservation goals and expectations throughout the Garifuna Nation, and they provide an organizational framework for villages and communities innovating their own specific plans.

A couple of logical "next steps" present themselves in the struggle for Garifuna language maintenance. Sharing language maintenance materials and methodologies is crucial in these circumstances. Teachers in Garifuna communities can be overwhelmed by the effort to develop their own culturally and linguistically appropriate materials. For sharing of such materials to occur, however, there must be a much greater degree of communication among Garifuna teachers and language activists.

Annual or biannual conferences, workshops, and seminars could be arranged that bring Garifuna teachers together to share ideas, materials, and methodologies. These events should involve participation by Garifuna teachers in Honduras, Belize, and Guatemala, as well as elsewhere. Training could be made available for teachers trying to teach children who do not speak Garifuna as well as for teachers trying to teach Garifuna-speaking children to read in their language. In this way, models could be developed for teaching Garifuna as a second language and for teaching literacy in Garifuna.

Encouragement and support for the production of literature in Garifuna could be actively offered by regional Garifuna NGOs so that individuals interested in writing in the Garifuna language will find it easier to publish their works. Orthographic and lexical issues, among others, could be decided by an international Garifuna Language Committee comprised of Garifuna language specialists representing each country, as called for by the Language Policy.

The tremendous geographic range of the Garifuna community (the result of the Garifuna Diaspora) can have some advantages, which the Garifuna Nation should exploit as much as possible in language revival efforts. Each region, actually, has something special to offer. Honduras, Belize, and Guatemala are where the language and culture have survived and have been maintained. Honduras has a very large Garifuna population and well-organized and effective Garifuna NGOs. Belize has Native linguist Roy Cayetano and other committed language activists. Garifuna communities in the United States have substantial financial and technological resources. Co-operation within the Nation could lead to co-ordinated language preservation plans. For example, Hopkins Village in Belize, where the Garifuna language is still spoken, has been suggested as a location for a language immersion summer school for Garifuna kids from the United States, St. Vincent, and elsewhere.

Continued language planning and revitalization efforts in the Garifuna Nation are hampered by lack of communication. The GarifunaLink has been a huge leap forward, but there are still many Garinagu who do not have access to this

technology and are, therefore, "out of the loop." Even conventional physical travel between Garifuna villages can be time-consuming and arduous.

The other missing ingredient important for language renewal in the Garifuna Nation is funding. Local governments, for the most part, have not been supportive. Garifuna communities have always been poor; therefore, the Nation itself has no real financial resources to commit. Access to information about international funding agencies in not easily available, nor is professional grant writing guidance. There is certainly a great deal of will and desire in the Garifuna community to revitalize the language. However, virtually all language renewal efforts require some degree of funding, which is sorely lacking in Garifuna language preservation efforts.

In conclusion, the Garifuna Nation faces an unusual challenge in revitalizing its language because Garifuna communities are so geographically dispersed and divergent. Establishment of the Language Policy and Language Preservation Plan provided a valuable foundation for renewal efforts because they represent a unified vision for Garifuna language maintenance. Next, Garifuna leaders, teachers, and language activists need to meet to establish functional lines of communication and to elaborate materials and methodological models. In order to facilitate these steps, considerable funding will need to be raised.

The Garifuna language has a remarkable history and has somehow survived the Garifuna Diaspora against all odds. The language has a special value in Garifuna culture; to speak Garifuna is to be Garifuna. Studying the past raises questions about the Garifuna future: Given the effects of the Garifuna Diaspora, if people stop speaking Garifuna, will they still be Garifuna? Because the Garifuna language is such an important part of Garifuna identity, when the Garifuna language is lost, will their race be lost as well?

History both burdens and blesses the present, and the Garifuna Nation follows its destiny. The survival of the Garifuna language will be determined by actions now and in the future and by individuals throughout the Garifuna Nation sharing an understanding of the value and importance of the Garifuna language legacy.

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The Way of the Drum—When Earth Becomes Heart

Part I

Healing the Tears of Yesterday by the Drum Today: The Oneida Language is a Healing Medicine

Grafton Antone

As I travelled the path of life, little did I realize the suppression I was experiencing as an *Ukwehuwe* in my Euro-western formal educational journey. The Western model of human development is linear and has four general domains: emotional, social, physical, and intellectual. This Western model emphasizes physical and intellectual development to meet career standards and personal expectations. The Aboriginal *Ukwehuwe* model of human development is circular and consists of four parts: emotional, mental, physical, and spiritual. The Elders tell us that, to be fully developed, one must maintain balance in all four of these areas. My story shows my development in the Western model. My perseverance afforded me a certain measure of success, but as I passed through the different stages of life, I could sense that there was something missing in my life that I could not explain or identify. It was not until I began teaching the Oneida Language (*Onyota'a:ka*) that I realized what the missing links were. This is my story of discovery, reorientation, and balance.

The information I will share with you is based on my work with various adult students learning Onyota'a:ka as a Second Language in the Toronto School Board. In 1995-96, the class had a high enrolment of 30, but that gradually fell off to about 15. In 1996-97, the class began at 22 then tapered off to 10. In 1997-98, the class went from 18 to 8, and in 1998-99, it went from 16 to 7. Usually, the original group comes to observe and to see if the class meets their expectations. Then those interested continue to come to classes. The faithful eight of the third year formed a friendship outside of the class and communicated with each other. So the group is pretty congenial and homogeneous in the Onyota'a:ka language class. They represent a cross-section of human behaviour and development. They have a strong desire to change their situations.

The Oneida Language is an oral language that is now in the process of being written. Although there are some written materials, it takes a while to find them. Generally, they are hidden, lost in some university library. At one point, I learned that the Language Department at the University of Western Ontario had done some work with the Oneida language in the early 1980s, and I was able to gather that material and use it in the class. The noun-based material I found was mostly geared to the primary-junior level of the elementary system, which, I felt, would be beneficial to the students in our Oneida class. There is a deep "way of life" couched in the Oneida language, and to learn it as a noun-based language makes it difficult when the language is mostly verb-oriented, guided by actions. I have discovered that some of the young people in my home community have managed to acquire the language through a culture and language immersion school called the *Tsi ni yu kwa li ho t^* (*t^* sounds like "on"). The

curriculum stresses the importance of knowing who they are as *Ukwehuwe* and their relationship to creation.

My experiences with teaching and learning the language began abruptly when I was hired to teach the people signed up for the first Toronto urban Oneida class in 1995. The teaching schedule was based on two-hour classes twice a week. My outline began at ground zero (no one speaks or knows the Oneida language) with the greeting "*shekoli*" (hello) and with a brief circle sharing of our names, origins, and expectations. A handout introducing the alphabet and outlining ten basic lessons was given to the class. I also informed them about the scarcity of Oneida teaching materials that I had at that time. Finding a set of Oneida language books was a high priority.

My goal was to teach the language from a cultural base. The first major work we studied was the "Thanksgiving Address" by Enos Williams, a Cayuga speaker. We began translating the "Address" in class. Everyone participated in reading and learning the English part. As the translation work proceeded, I began to learn of the deep mystery that dwells deep within the language. I had to think of the words, the meanings, and write them down. Whenever I got stuck on some wording, I would call my mother for some help in the language. She helped but said that she did not exactly know the particulars of the Thanksgiving Address. So I struggled away at it. I handed out each page I translated to the class to read and learn. The following is a part of the wording that comes before all else:

TAHETWANAHELATU S^KWAYATIS^
Thanksgiving Address (We give thanks to Creator)

S^kwayatis^ wahat^'nikuhlisane' tsi né tyotkut tahetwanuhelatu
It was decided by Our Creator that we should always give thanks

nu' k^ke ^twatyataloluk' ahti ohnikalihotu.
whenever we gather for any reason.

Né kwi onah y^:he' twatl^na:yah'ha.
We turn our voices toward him.

Né ohutsyáke tyotsyel^ht^ ^twatloli, ukwa:nulha tsi
We speak first of the Earth, Our Mother that

tey^ki'sniheh. Ne e:s^ tyonkiyahwihé
supports us. From her we obtain many things:

Ne onéklasuha teku'tih^s kale kaska:wáy^' tsi kayon
The different grasses and bushes that

ty^kiyawi'he honuhkwat
give us medicine

As I was translating these beautiful words, I found that the language was having a transforming effect upon my way of thinking. *S^kwayatis^*, "the one who made us," opened my mind to another way of saying "God," expressed in the word "Creator." Then came the first action of Creator: *wahat^'nikuhlisane*, "he made up his mind (decided)," "he decided." Decided what? *Tahetwanuhelatu*, "that we should give thanks to Creator for: people meeting," *ohutsyake ukwanulha, onuhkwa'hoku, onekanúshoku, kutily, olutásu, oneklasu, wahni'talu, latisakayutes, kaye niyukwetak, otsistokweha, khale Skanyutaliyo.* This is a beautiful new way of re-imagining the world; it is a whole new philosophy of the earth as mother, showing that all things are connected, related, and dependent upon each other. These words brought me to a realization that much of our culture is revealed inside the language. I was now seeing what the Elders had spoken of many years earlier. Only now can I see, smell, and feel the roses along the pathway of life.

Someone brought in the "Iroquois Creation Story" written in English, and this became our next working text for translation into Oneida. Again we faced the challenge of finding the words to make this story work for us. The story begins like this:

TSI TYO TASAWUH OHUTSIAKE
The Iroquois Creation Story

Wahunisek^ kaloh tsi lonanaklat^ ukwehuwe, né ok
Long before there were human beings, there were Sky People.

Latiluyakelo. Kaluyake tatinaklekwe. Yah ne tewanitale né t^.
They dwelled in the celestial world. In those days there was no . . .

Well, teaching the Oneida Language became a real gold mine of searching and writing. When I first began, I was not very good at writing the language. The sounds all seemed to be the same to me. I would ask the class to listen to what I was saying and to tell me which sounds went with the language; so it was a collaborative effort. They listened and helped me to write it down. So they learned too. They could feel the energy flowing through the classes.

The second part of my presentation deals primarily with healing our Native people who attended residential schools and/or were removed from their home reserves by the Children's Aid Society and subsequently adopted out to non-Native families. Many of these people lost their language and culture, so the traditions were lost. The foreign residential school model broke the family connections. When the children were returned to their families, they were unable to cope with the changes. In their teens by that time, they often left the reserves to look for work in the towns, lumber camps, or mills. When these young adults decided to raise children of their own, they discovered that they lacked the skills of loving and caring for their little ones because they had not experienced the tender care and love that their parents, grandparents, and extended families would

have afforded them as children. They could only identify with the matrons who had watched over them and made sure they stayed in their beds and slept alone. "Alone" became a way of life. Soon they lost their own children to the Children's Aid Society, and the cycle of alienation from the family and extended family began again. The second generation lost their children, but this time it was harder for the children to come back. The survivors migrated to large urban centres, towns, and cities.

One of the greatest mistakes Native people made was to drink alcohol; whether it was beer, wine, or whisky, it all did the same thing. Liquor got the Native people (Indians) drunk, and that was the beginning of their degradation. Soon they were alcoholics, losing their jobs, their dignity, and, most of all, their sense of identity. People gave "Indians" a bad name, putting them down with all kinds of negative and dirty names. Shamed and destroyed, the Native people struggled on.

Some, however, were able to steer themselves away from the drug-and-alcohol road and find wholeness and identity. It was these people who saw the terrible conditions that Native people were locked into in the urban centres and who began doing something about it by founding friendship centres, health centres, and resource centres for Native people. And it was at these new centres that the Native people started to talk about who they were, where they came from, and what they needed to do to become true Aboriginal people again. They found that they needed to learn their ways and learn their own languages from the Elders and to practice the ceremonies performed long ago by their grandparents. This was the new way to regain the lost identity of this new-found people. Today, Elders come in from reserves, bringing their healing medicines with them, to teach the old ways to the urban Natives.

The United Church of Canada, a union formed in 1925 of the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches, in which I am a minister, participated in running residential schools. It therefore has a responsibility to give back full health to Native people. For me, this healing began in 1970 when I chose to raise my family in a better way and needed the help of a spiritual discipline to teach me the family values I required to best fulfil my hopes and dreams of raising my family in a good way.

For the next 15 years, I worked diligently to promote the Christian values I had learned, teaching the children and all who came to listen at the Oneida United Church. Then I was asked by the Church Presbytery to consider going back for more education in order to become an ordained minister. Along the way, I discovered what the Church had done to Native people in Canada and the United States historically. In 1985, Alberta Billie, a Native person from Vancouver Island, challenged the United Church of Canada to apologize to the Native people for all the horrific things done to them. So at Sudbury in 1986, the Church apologized "for trying to make the Indian People in the image of the European People – Canadians" and asked for our "forgiveness" (United Church of Canada, 1986). Well, we thought about it for a while and said, an apology is only as good as the actions that follow; show us what you mean. Out of this showing, I learned

about the grievous residential school experiences of many of our Native people. Things had to be fixed.

As part of the fixing, a healing program was begun by the United Church to help Native people regain their wholeness from the fragmenting effects of residential school. At Council Fire in 1999, we did three healing workshops. We searched for a Native healing paradigm. We found and made up our own: Advertise the Need; Name the Reason; Teach our Native Ways of Healing by the Elders; Bring the Drum to call the people together; Sing our songs of memory; Sing our songs of pain; and Sing our new songs of healing; Eat our traditional foods; then Give a healing present to all—a Traditional Give-away. We did all these things in the healing workshops and that is the message I bring today.

Healing is found in our language. Healing is found in our stories. Healing is found in listening to our Elders. Healing is found in education. Healing is found in our traditional ceremonies. Healing is found through the drumming, singing, and dancing. Healing is found in the traditional foods of our Nations. Healing our emotional, our mental, our physical and our spiritual aspects—all these bring me back to you.

The third part of this journey deals with the work I did with my friend who invited me to this conference to share in this presentation. We began with the traditional Native introduction circle, where each person tells briefly who he or she is and where he or she comes from. I come from On^yota'a:ka Nation located on the Thames river. I am wolf clan. I have my Oneida Language. I sing; I dance; I teach; I am happy to be here.

I wanted to get deeper into the culture, which is why I began to attend Iroquois social drum singing practices at the Toronto Native Canadian Centre in 1998. The first song we learned was the "Standing Quiver" dance. This song was sung by the men leaving or returning from a hunt. When the lead hunter decided to go, he would announce it and place one arrow in the centre of the village. Soon other young men came and placed their quivers with his. Then they would leave, and as they went, they sang the song: *Ye yoh HEH, Ye yoh HEH, ye yo HEH . . .*

Another social song we learned, "Alligator Dance," probably came from our brothers in the south, the Seminole nation.[1] They lived down in Florida, where there were alligators. The story goes that, as the Ukwehuwe walked through the everglades hunting or travelling, the warriors guarded the women as they travelled along near the waterways. Whenever an alligator came out after them, they would pull the women out of danger:

HO YA NEH HO YA NEH, HO YA NEH HO, HO YA NEH HO YA NEH
HO YA NE HO. yo ho WI YE, yo ho, WI YE,
HI YA WAY HO YA NEH yo ho WI YE
WAY HOO YA WAY HOO YA yo ho WI YE
WAY HO YA NEH WAY HO YA NEH yo ho WI YE

Another dance we learned early on was the "Round Dance." This dance was common to most of the First Nations, and even now when we sing this song, people like to join in because of the friendly nature of the movements and steps. As part of my recovery of our Ukwehuweh ways, I wish to sing this Drum song to you all as an honour song—one verse of "Round Dance":

Hi yo hi yo ha hee o hi ya...
Hi yo yo hey ya ho hi yo hi ya...
Yo ha no hey yo ha no hey yo ho hi ya...
Yo ha way hay yo ha way hey yo ho hi ya...

The songs began a new healing for those of us who were learning the depth and strength of the social dances and discovering their power to lift up the spirits of the people who listened to the music and danced at the socials. The good spirit is very present when this dance is performed.

Our group eventually began to sing at various events in Toronto, and the people seemed to have so much fun because of the prayers and the spiritual impact the songs were having on them. The spirit of fun in dancing the Iroquois social dances is contagious. Other dances we sing at the socials are: "Women's Dance," "Duck Dance," "Rabbit Dance," "Robin Dance," "Old Moccasin," "Smoke Dance," and "Unity Stomp." When we sing and dance, we go in the Iroquois direction, counter clock-wise. This is because when Sky Woman first came to Turtle Island, she followed the Sun; therefore, Iroquois people now go in that direction too.

The fourth part of my story is to thank all of you who came and shared your journey with us here in this circle. It is not often that we are able to gather from so wide an area, all over this Turtle Island and beyond. I give thanks to the Creator for you all and wish you a happy stay here and a safe journey home.

We give thanks for our mother earth, for all the plants, for all the medicines, all the trees, all the waters, all the living animals, and all the birds, and for the thunderers, the Sun our elder brother, our grandmother moon, our ancestors the stars, for the four beings who watch over us, for the prophets, and for Creator. Yah W^Ko.

Part II

When Earth Becomes Heart—"Oral Tradition" is the Best Medicine

Lois Provost Turchetti

At first contact, some of the original people of the Caribbean described themselves as Taino, which means "good person" or "true human being."[2] At that time, there were at least 34 indigenous language groups in the Caribbean. These people also called themselves *Caribs, Arauaks,* and *Hohodene*. As *Hohodene*, they are distantly related to the *Hodenesonee* and *Dene* nations. Today, *Taino* is used broadly to refer to the Indigenous Caribbean peoples. *Taino* languages are related to the Athapaskan family and are being revitalized by at

least two distinct *Taino* nations. In *Xaymaka* or *Yamaye* (Jamaica), the Maroons are a distinct, independent, and sovereign nation, the offspring of *Arauak* (*Taino*) and several African nations (Coromantee, Berber, Fullah, and others). Their spoken language reflects Taino, Coromantee, Berber, Fullah, and other influences and is distinct from the Jamaican language of the rest of the island, which is derived from a combination of Taino, Ashanti, Spanish, English, French, and the language influence of inter-island migrations. Sacred aspects of Taino culture honoured by the Maroons are also honoured as Jamaican "national" cultural symbols. I am speaking, then, as an indigenous person born in Xaymaca-Yamaye of Chinese, Asian Indian, French, African, Italian, German, South American, Jewish, Scottish, Welsh, Irish, and Maroon-Taino blood and culture, and I am speaking about oral tradition "writing" and ways of seeing and knowing as documents.

It is said that Indigenous and Aboriginal First Nations peoples have no written language, and this is true depending on what one means by "written." Apart from the carved "written" picture-words of the Incas, Mayas, Aztecs, Mi'kmaq, and others, a sacred "written" oral-aural tradition language system also exists in petroglyphs, pictograms, and other forms. Here is the story of how I came to study this "written" art.

As a child at a Methodist school, I learned about the great dream of freedom, a place where we would meet all our ancestors. But I only began to see myself in these stories after hearing the story, told by a Rabbi, of the "Good Samaritan" who was a Rastafari. I am not going to tell you that the Rabbi came to be at the Methodist school as an interfaith collaboration. I am not going to talk about how Taino teachings led to Maroon and Rastafari ones. I am not going to tell you about Maroon-Taino cultural symbols or share how Maroon peoples came to Nova Scotia and how some of them became related to the Mi'kmak or how Canadian cod became Jamaica's national dish. Instead, I will share what I have learned about our ancient writing, using a mixture of oral-aural and written-visual tradition styles.

Somehow, in growing up, I entered the world of books and lost the rich Indigenous history into which I was born. I was ashamed to be born Jamaican, for Jamaicans have been stereotyped with a lot of negative labels...another instance of "downpression." To explain, in Rastafari tradition, "word, sound, and power" are the breath of Creator as well as other things. In mainstream Western culture, turning things around is often called "balance" or "inversions." The term "oppression" is orally spoken and aurally heard as "up-pression;" it makes no sense to an oral-aural people because it is really a way of keeping people down, so "oppression" becomes "downpression" to restore a sense of meaning and right order. The same language play in word warfare and fair-war is used for resistance or immunity (protection), and healing is part of oral-aural tradition where words are magical throughout the Americas.

I married, worked for a while, then resigned and went back to school so I could learn how to share my people's stories in our Jamaican language. For those university assignments, I used to dream stories, write them down, and

share them in my assignments and in storytelling in schools. Things were going great until one evening in 1994 when a car crashed into the back of the one I was driving. Worse than the physical injuries were the neurological ones; the doctors called it a mild concussion, but I lost my dreams and could not find words to express my thoughts. I was often dizzy, my ears would begin ringing, and sometimes I had trouble finding my way home. I became anaemic, sleep deprived, and disoriented. The doctors were not able to help, and my health got worse. Since the days of the Tainos, most people of Xaymaca have honoured Creator. So I asked Creator, "I am a good person, why is this happening to me?"

In the end, I refused to have any more tests or go to any more doctors. If I was to live, I was ready to accept life. If I was to die, I was ready to accept death. That was my decision. But the worst threat to my life, the sickness of my body, was suddenly healed when an Elder of our congregation at the Nazarene Church put oil on my forehead and, with my husband and others who gathered round, prayed for me. It was like finding out that life means love. I give thanks for this, but that is another story. My neurological problems did not go away, but that same night in 1996, I started dreaming again. Night after night, I would scramble out of bed to draw the dream picture-words on paper—my husband did not get much sleep. There was an intricate country of mountains and lakes, a "game" of freedom and choice, and stories upon stories to be told. One of them, a story of "civilization," tells how people get caught up relying on their own power that "civilization" changes to "vilification." It begins:

> *Once, long ago, the ancients knew, the power of One begins with you.*
> *Words of life come from your lips,*
> *you have the world at your fingertips.*
> *Back-to-back you laugh, face-to-face you fight....*

In these picture-words, I saw the myths—the truth-telling—of my many ancestors and others, and I saw ways of thinking in patterns and families. I learned that people overcome their differences by dreaming together. At the same time, rock art "writing" kept turning up everywhere, and I was drawn to it because in those drawings I recognized the dream-pictures I had scribbled. By working with the glyphs (as I came to call them), I slowly learned to express myself in words again. People suggested selling these ideas for video games...but the dream of freedom cannot be bought, and it is not for sale.

With no budget, over the next four years I studied the glyphs, systematically analyzing and categorizing the encyclopaedic knowledge I found that they reflected so I could answer, in their own terms, those who asked questions about my work. I talked with people from Rapa Nui (Easter Island) to Hopiland to British Colombia and the Territories. I wrote to the government, to organizations and institutions in Canada.[3] Most listened, but no one agreed or offered to help. Still, what I found seemed good. So I began again to share my stories with anyone who would listen and to write these things up so that children and families could learn the origins of the ancient holographic civilization of our Indig-

enous and Aboriginal Peoples and find a bridge between past and future. As I tried to explain the language patterns of the "written" characters to others, I discovered that most Native peoples had lost their language and could not see the glyphs in this way, but I still wanted to share the exciting things I had learned.

It is said that the ancient rock writing was the scribbling of the little people, or the writing of visitors from other countries—even from other planets—and that the drawings were the recorded dreams of ancient healers-in-training. But not all the rock "writing" preserved today consists of the vision quest originals. Some are secularized, copied, or vandalized versions, overwritten so that the rock becomes a kind of palimpcest. The originals were done by ancient Indigenous and Aboriginal peoples on this continent and in the off-shore territories such as the Caribbean "continent of islands." Some of it is over 8,000 years old. It occurs across the land in styles unique to each culture and artist, and it is not syllabics.

I do not use copies of the original glyphs because I respect the ancient artists and because the originals are sacred to Indigenous and Aboriginal First Peoples. I use the "roughs" by which, in my recovery, my family helped me come to a new way of seeing. I drew them free-hand in a circle around points and lines that formed what looked to me like a leaf and a star. The drawings, different yet similar, show how word families are related. This is as important now as it was when the first glyphs were done. "Perfect" images limit our potential for creative seeing, and so wherever poems, sculptures, songs, paintings, dances, or stories are "told," the "speaker" cannot separate "words" from the Aboriginality of spirit that touches and moves the "listener" from the heart. Because of this, myths and poetry created with the ancient words serve as an interdisciplinary, intercultural way of teaching, and so the spoken and "written" depend on each other. This is evident in the central role of the creative arts in Native education.

Because Western educators were raised under the influence of written traditions, it is often hard for them to think in mythical ways. Therefore, they ask, "What is the grammatical structure of the language? Is it noun-based or verb-based?" They completely miss the point. To me, glyph writing seems gerund-based, as in the sentence: "Singing entrances children." Apart from this, as far as I can tell, Indigenous language has a mythical rather than a logical structure. It is a mythographical and esoteric way of communicating that involves free play, spontaneity, and improvisation. I call it "mythical" or mythographical thinking, from "mythos," a term I learned from Dr. Hugh Parry, one of my teachers in the magic of storymaking. Its simple sophistication and relational shifts, called "shifting perspectives" by philosophers and psychologists, make it seem complex to those outside the tradition.

In this language, there are nine basic "characters" or "words." Each of these has two forms: "individual" and "community," so that there are 18 in all. Each word is a condensed short form with its own meaning, but it can also mean many other words, a whole thought, or a whole story with different potential meanings within each culture. This linguistic feature of ancient languages is

called "multivalence." No matter how she might try, a storyteller knows that the awesome mystery of how language connects thought and action cannot be fully explained, so she uses examples to demonstrate her meaning and breathes a mythstory in the process.

The characters occur in "families" of four, and the relations between them reflect the magic of mythtelling. The first one can be used in place of any of the others to create the beginning and end of each string of words, or it can be used as a punctuation sign (Figure 1). The other three are mother, father, and child. The last one is "person" or "human being" (Figure 2). It is "you," "man" and "woman," "boy" and "girl," "mothers and daughters," "fathers and sons," "grandparents," and "friends and family together." For example, "star" and "leaf," the chief cultural "relations" of this continent, describe two ways of thinking. In the south, the men are face-to-face, and the women are back-to-back. They are so close together they reflect "united states." In the north, the women are face-to-face, and the men are back-to-back; they are separated and reflect a state of "dominion." Put together, these are the "grandparents" (Figures 3 and 4).

Figure 1. Punctuation Mark

Figure 2. Person or Human Being

Note: Remembering that the petroglyphs and pictograms are sacred writings of the First Peoples, the representations here are stylizations only. The actual characters have as many different forms as there were artists. All in all, "reading" Indigenous/Aboriginal "character sets" is a lesson in contemplation, in being general and specific in centering, decentering, and recentering ourself around our origins, and in knowing that the only thing that is certain is that there is much we do not know.

Figure 3. Grandparents, Twins

Figure 4. Grandparents, Twins

It is a fact that students do better at their studies and have a stronger sense of who they are when they have access to the spoken and written forms of their

Native language. In this light, they can see themselves and others and many cultures, and they can begin to dream their creative potential in their own words.

In the rock "writing," the word "stone" is also "earth" and "land." There is a Toronto valley filled with the deep quiet of the high mountains and the stories of the Hodenesone and the Mississauga, the two original peoples there. Looking south, "readers" can see the Hodenesone story of Keel Nose/Broken Nose who challenged Creator and had the mountain fall on him, or the story where he broke his nose against the mountain, depending on the version you know. Within the man, they can also see a young woman, Peacemaker's mother, giving birth. From the west, they can see the three eagles of the Mississaugas...if we do not tell the old-old stories, as our proverbs say, the very land will "speak" of them.

In another story, Peacemaker crossed the water in a stone boat. Now, the Taino word for the sacred silk cotton tree—the tree of life—is "ceiba," which means "stone." In other global Indigenous cultures the ceiba, which lives hundreds of years, is also the sacred tree of life. Other plants live in its branches, and all animals and birds rest in its shade. The Hopi carved kachina and the Taino carved zemis from it. Tainos and Mayas planted it at the centre of their towns and in the four directions as a living Medicine Wheel. Today, there are still ceiba canoes in Xaymaca-Yamaye. As the ceiba leaf is the "star," so "tree," which is "stone" when it becomes petrified over thousands of years (like the talking stone in our opening circle), is also "head," "hand," and "heart," for we are "stone" and "tree," and these are our relations. Now, in places like Manitoulin Island there are singing stones. In Trinidad in the 1930s, youth searching for themselves made the first "steelpan drum." It seems they "accidentally" picked up the patterns of the singing stones, which sound like the voice of many waters. But in the pattern of the steelpan bowl, one can see the "eye," the "globe," and the "turtle shell" drum. Today, if the audio is turned on during an echogram of the heart, the patient can hear the heart's music, like the steelpan drum beat memories in the blood, a sound resonating through our bodies.

If some people think this way of teaching seems "pan-Indian," let them remember that mythical thinking, or mythographical thinking, shows things held in common where there are many ways of seeing and knowing. It prevents stories from becoming fixed and isolated and lets a child honour all her relations. In Toronto, I have shared these stories in interdisciplinary, intercultural relations/recreation with students in Public, Catholic, and Hebrew schools and at the college level. Something special happens as our questions and answers become related in just the way we need to hear. For that moment, we are "family." But sometimes family is divided—I wrote a healing "Shore Love Song," the beginning and ending of which are:

> *Waves weave songs of shore love humbly, humbling, calling out your name,*
> *Mountains rising from inertia, answering, witnessing our pain.*
> *Beaten, silenced, lonely, weeping, in the earth's song with the dawn*
> *Tender hoping, fiercely hoping, with the light waves that are born...*

And the secret, sacred silence, of this sure song from the start,
Speaks the Spirit's great desire for the mountains of my heart.
Wind and water wishing, kissing, children loving from the soul
Make us certain, surely certain, we are part and we are whole.

In our presentation at the conference, Grafton and I alternately shared stories and our songs and learning, as in a dialogue. We chose this format because oral-aural tradition thinking and speaking is a traditional medicine that can create wholeness when individuals dialogue in community. Oral-aural tradition is the only traditional medicine that is protected by law in the United States as "freedom of speech" and in Canada as "freedom of religion and freedom of culture." It is a beautiful way to wholeness because a word is a mediator between what a child thinks and what she speaks, across the borders of communities and between the boundaries of individuals. Face-to-face, oral-aural traditions can change how we see each other and ourselves. This is something to teach our children; it is our birthright.

Despite its power, oral-aural tradition mythical thinking and speaking is endangered. As children come to rely more and more on texts and computational logical thinking, future oral tradition ways of life are threatened. When I was growing up, Granny said we should live so that "the circle be unbroken." Rastafari teachings were part of Jamaica's music, but I would not sing Bob Marley's "Buffalo Soldier,"[4] his dream of our people's Jamaican Maroon-Taino history. Today, I sing it with a new heart. Grafton and I trust that you will contact us about our work by email at grafton.antone@primus.ca or magei@netrover.com.

I give thanks for everyone who joined in our presentation, for oral-aural tradition ways of seeing, and for Grafton's songs, stories, and drumming. I thank Hugh Parry, Jan Rehner, Arthur Haberman, Randy Scott, Susan Swan, and Vivian Darroch-Lozowski, who helped me return to mythical thinking, and Elijah Harper, Joe Hester, Grafton Antone and his partner Eileen Antone, Frances Sanderson, Lilian McGregor, Dawn Martin Hill, Laara Fitznor, Andrew Reuben, Linda Godfrey, and Anthony Aarons, who helped me dispel the false myth that my learning was the product of a storyteller's wild imagination. I would like to leave you with a Taino prayer that I am learning, but I know only the translation of one word, Hadonai, that is, "Let it be so." For all my relations, thank you. Pilama. Miigwec.

Notes

[1]Seminoles and Maroons share similar African and Aboriginal heritage, and, in Jamaica, the crocodile is part of the Arauak mythological legacy.

[2]I learned this in conversation with Anthony Aarons, a retired indigenous archaeologist from Jamaica who has worked throughout the Caribbean and who now lives in Toronto.

[3]To name a few, I wrote to Prime Minister Jean Chretien's office; to Sheila Copps, the Minister of Culture; to my Provincial M.P.P.; to the Mayor of Toronto; and to the Canadian Heraldic Society at the Governor General's Office. I showed my

drawings to individuals from the Ontario Heritage Foundation. I had telephone conversations with representatives of the Royal Canadian Mint and Canada Post, with the Coast Guard and the Agricultural Research Station at Vineland, and I spoke with and wrote to the Manitoba Native Languages Association and Saskatchewan Federated Indian College.

[4]Beneath the overt lyrics of "Buffalo Soldier," a song described on the CD jewel case as the "cruelly ironic story of black men conscripted to the Union army to kill Indians," was Marley's vision as Rastafari prophet and spirit warrior. Marley sang also of Rastafari's traditional silence about part of their identity as an Arauak-Afrikan-Spanish people: "When I analyze the stench, to me it makes a lot of sense, how the Dreadlock Rasta, was a Buffalo Soldier. "driven from de mainland to the heart of the Caribbean.... If you know your history, you will know where you're coming from...." After the Maroon Wars of the 1600's, the British exiled about 600 Maroons from Jamaica to Nova Scotia where they worked alongside the British, following Maroon strategies for survival. They became part of Canada's history. When some Maroons later moved to Sierra Leone, those who had intermarried with the Miq'Mac stayed with their families. The dreadlocks hairstyle was a mark of the warrior in some Afrikan and American societies. Later to the south, when some Afrikan-Americans with dreadlocks allied themselves with the U.S. army (the same Maroon strategy), Plains Peoples called them "Buffalo Soldiers." This was echoed later in Martin Luther King's human rights teachings. Marley saw himself in this unspoken legacy of Indigenous resistance as immunity and healing. For his and other mixed-blood-and-culture people, Bob Marley encoded this lyrically: 'Then you wouldn't have to ask me who the heck do I think I am. I'm just a Buffalo Soldier, in the heart of America..." His song continues the unspoken legacy of Indigenous music as resistance or immunity and healing for his mixed-blood-and-culture people. "Buffalo Soldier," "Legend—the best of Bob Marley and the Wailers," Tuff Gong, Island Records, 1984.

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The Need for an Ecological Cultural Community

Robert N. St. Clair, John A. Busch

For several decades we have been concerned with cultural and social change. Some of us have approached these issues from a systems theory perspective known as sociocybernetics. This theory is elaborated in the writings of John and Gladys Busch (Busch, 1998; Busch & Busch, 1983, 1992, 1998) and Robert St. Clair (St. Clair, 1997; St. Clair & Busch, 2000). We are on a quest to develop a theoretical model that adequately accounts for societal transformations. We have also addressed these issues from the perspective of language renewal (St. Clair, 1992; St. Clair & Leap, 1981). It is this systems perspective that we will share with you on the issue of cultural demise.

Joshua Fishman, an expert in language planning, addressed the issues of language loss and cultural maintenance in one of the earlier *Stabilizing Indigenous Languages* conferences (Fishman, 1996). He noted that there have been successful cases of saving a language: Hebrew, Irish, and Welsh. When the Jewish State of Israel was being formed, a schoolteacher developed his own textbooks and began teaching Hebrew. At that time, it was a dead language. He did not worry about speakers of other dialects. He did not seek the approval of administrators. He did not wait for a referendum. He was a pioneer who saw what needed to be done and did it. Now, it is the official language of that country and is used for all aspects of social interaction. In his paper, Fishman shares his experiences with that language and attributes its success to the fact that the language was used across generations and in the vernacular of everyday life. Hence, he calls this process the "re-vernacularization" of Hebrew. He argues that if a language is to survive, it must find its support outside of the formal academic settings of the school system; it must become the language of friendship, affection, religion, prayer, shopping, family discourse, and other forms of daily life. It must become part of what Goffman (1967) calls an interaction ritual.

Fishman (1996) also discusses his study of the revival of Irish and Welsh. As in his discussion of Hebrew, he cites the pioneers among the Irish who began to save the Irish language at a time when only 3% of the population still spoke it. Currently, these languages are in full revival and spoken by two-thirds of the population. Those who are against their revival have depicted a different situation. However, as Davey (1998) has noted about Welsh, for example, these statistics are wrong. The younger generations are rapidly learning and using Welsh.

One of the more interesting comments Fishman makes has to do with re-socialization. He said that, when Hebrew was made the language of everyday life, the society underwent major changes, and language was made a part of those changes. The changes that he referred to occurred during the period of readjustment among the Jewish immigrants from Russia and from Germany. With their arrival in Israel, there was an immediate clash of two cultures and two language systems. As system theorists, we will return to the concept of society as a system and how that plays a role in cultural change. More important, we

will address the issue of cultural demise and offer several scenarios on how that loss can be addressed in a time of rapid change among all cultures (Toffler, 1970, 1980).

The Current Crisis in Language Loss

We are all familiar with the many cases of language loss. At the 1998 *Stabilizing Indigenous Languages* conference in Louisville, Kentucky, Evangeline Parsons-Yazzie highlighted the closing ceremonies with the honouring of the Elders. Among those being honoured were various last speakers of their tribes. It was a ceremony of hope. It was the call of a pioneering spirit—a Native speaker of Navajo who is also a teacher of that language at Northern Arizona University. We all knew that interwoven among those moments of hope were experiences filled with agony, failure, and despair. This crisis in language loss has been eloquently expressed by Richard Littlebear, a Native speaker of Northern Cheyenne and a teacher of his own Native tongue at a bilingual tribal college in Montana.

> Some of us said, "Let's get our languages into written form' and we did, and still our Native American languages kept on dying. Then we said, "Let's make dictionaries for our language" and we did, and still the languages kept on dying. Then we said, "Let us get linguists trained in our own languages" and we did, and still our languages kept on dying. Then we said, "Let's train our own people who speak our languages to become linguists" and we did, and still our languages kept on dying. Then we said, "Let us apply for a federal bilingual education grant" and we did, and still the languages kept on dying. Then we said, "Let's let the schools teach the languages" and we did, and still the languages kept on dying. Then we said, "Let's develop culturally-relevant materials" and we did, and still the languages kept on dying. Then we said, "Let's use language masters to teach our languages" and we did, and still our languages kept on dying. Then we said, "Let's tape-record the elders speaking our languages" and we did, and still our languages kept on dying. Then we said, "Let's videotape-record the elders speaking our languages" and we did, and still our languages kept on dying. Then we said, "Let's put our native language speakers on CD ROM" and we did, and still the languages kept on dying. (Littlebear, 1996, p. xiii)

What these words force us to address is the current crisis in language loss. Why has language maintenance failed among so many indigenous groups in North America? Why have various attempts at language renewal failed (St. Clair, 1992; St. Clair & Leap, 1983)? Before answering these questions, we must first look at culture and what we mean by this term. We must also ask why language is so crucial to cultural identity.

Culture in Social Systems

The concept of culture has been used in different ways within all disciplines to which it is relevant, including linguistics, anthropology, and sociology. From a systems perspective, however, culture refers to the symbols and the interconnected sets of symbols such as stories, myths, creeds, and even scientific theories that humans create to explain the world around them. In essence, culture is a way of thinking and communicating. Again, from the systems perspective, it is helpful to contrast culture as thought to culture as social action (i.e., what we actually do). Even though what we do is usually consistent with how we have learned to think of the world, it is not always the case. Thus, our actions are important. Most important from the systems perspective are the actions that we engage in that are patterned or recurrent. Even though we can negotiate new relationships with one another, many patterns of relationship have already been established and these relationships strongly influence our options for change and for maintenance of our past ways of thinking.

The relationships that are most important are those that are patterned and thus recurrent. Just like transient relationships, these patterned relationships exist between the positions that the members of a group recognize and occupy. For example, families in groups that recognize the importance of maternal or paternal uncles are likely to have specific names for these positions. Attached to these positions is a set of cultural expectations to which everyone in the group believes the holder of such a position should conform. That is, the thoughts about the position (called "norms") give guidance to the occupant of the position concerning how he should act. These actions bring the occupant of the position into patterned relationships with the occupants of other positions, such as various types of nephews. Thus, in the long term, what we do (i.e., the actions we carry out) is guided by or can be said to be compatible with what we think—our culture. We call these patterned networks of relationships among positions "social structure." Thus, usually in the long-term, social structure as action is compatible with culture as thought.

Unfortunately, in our common way of speaking about life, we fail to make this crucial distinction between culture and social structure. Yet, the lack of such a distinction can cause great confusion. Fishman (1996) notes how many Elders lose touch with the younger generation because the times have changed and this experience of cognitive dissonance has caused them to avoid new patterns and events in their lives. However, when one says that the "times have changed," one is in essence saying that the things that are necessary to do today to make a living or to get along with others are not all the same as in the past. That is, one is saying that the social structures in which we live have changed. For the Elders, it may appear that the younger generations are unappreciative of the group's traditional culture and unwilling to learn its intricacies. To the younger generations, it may appear that the Elders are out of touch with what is happening today and living mentally in the past for reasons perhaps no better than nostalgia. From the systems perspective, one would theorize that, as the social structure changed, some of the traditional culture became less relevant to everyday

life. Furthermore, the traditional culture may not have been replaced by any internally consistent new interpretation of the new social structure. This is the problem with change in social systems. The way that we make sense out of our world (i.e., our culture) tends to be consistent with what we do (i.e., our social structure) only in the long term.

Changes in Societal Organization

We already know a lot about how societies change. Gerhard Lenski and Jean Lenski (1974) have approached cultural and social change in terms of how groups survive and maintain their coherence. These authors bring into focus the role of technology in social change. For example, societies that anthropologists call hunters and gatherers survive by living off of the land. For them, the state of nature is crucial to their existence. Consequently, their culture revolves around nature. Their hunting territories are sacred. They know how to read nature. They know where the sun is during the various seasons. They celebrate the beginning of new cycles of life. The system among hunters and gatherers is ecological, and the relationships between the group and nature are crucial. Some of these societies still exist today. Change in the social structure of these groups came about when the means of transportation improved. The introduction of the horse into many hunter and gatherer societies was tantamount to a revolution in social structure. Hunting from horseback produced a new way of life. This was reflected in cultural change. Such societies changed as the relationship of the people to nature and to each other changed. Eventually, the new technology (the hunting by horseback) produced new patterned relationships among the people and, by consequence, new additions to their culture. Thus, we would say that their form of social organization was transformed.

However, much more fundamental changes in societal organization have also occurred. The simple horticultural societies are another kind of societal type. They likely evolved from hunting and gathering societies where populations became too dense to rely only on hunting and gathering. The simple horticulturists turned to the more productive technology of planting. These horticulturists are bound to the land. Their livelihood comes from the land. Hence, the land is sacred. Change in these groups occurs because of overpopulation. When one does not have enough land to support the group, problems occur. This is especially true of situations where neighbouring tribes occupy nearby land. Where these groups occur today, we find warfare and other forms of population control. It is not surprising that warriors are given a special status in these groups. The protection of the land becomes a major part of the culture of this group.

We are now living in industrial societies. Today, these societies have a culture based on business. As in all societal types, the relationships between people are based on the positions that they occupy in the society. The relationship to the land has changed. More and more people live in the city. They have become divorced from nature and no longer know how to read the movements of the stars, the moon, and the sun. The events in their lives are codified and re-presented through new forms of symbolism. The novel, a representation of life,

becomes more real than life. The depiction of nature becomes more important than being in nature. Traditions based on oral culture, on speech, have been transformed by the development of print culture—the world on paper. Technology within industrial societies has undergone tumultuous change. Relationships between people are replaced by relationships with things. The bonds that now hold people together are the laws, the courts, and the judicial systems. Bureaucracy has become a way of life. Before documenting how cultural change works, we need to look more closely at symbolic change and at how people relate to one another through symbols.

Change in Symbolic Systems

From the above discussion, it should be clear that culture originates from society and that it is socially constructed. Within any group, there are usually a variety of subgroups that have their own system of relationships. When any one of these groups comes into power, their viewpoints become the host culture. European culture, for example, is not produced by a steady state system; rather, it is a reflection of a set of relationships within a system that has changed over time. In one period of the history of Europe, the aristocracy favoured classical music, and they supported the genius of their contemporary musicians. At this time, European high culture meant classical music. At another point in European history, the philosophers were considered to be of central interest to the aristocracy. Consequently, they were supported and protected within the newly emerging system of universities. As noted in a previous *Stabilizing Indigenous Languages* conference (St. Clair, 1997), the social construction of reality in the United States has also undergone shifts. It moved from the rise of the consumer culture to the development of suburbia, and it now engages itself in the marketing of monopoly capitalist business practices and the fostering of English as the language of business.

Some of the Tribes represented here at this conference were once hunters and gatherers. They still profess the values of such societies. However, much has changed around them, and these changes have caused a rift between what they believe they are symbolically and what they really are in terms of their daily lives. The same could be said about those groups that came from simple horticultural societies. Obviously, some indigenous societies changed vary rapidly because of technology. When the horse was introduced to some hunter-gatherer tribes, those societies changed. Their social structures were readjusted. They may have seen their culture as being the same, but it was not. They may have felt that they were still living the ways of the good old days, but they were not. When tribes that came out of simple horticultural societies rely on tractors, they have changed. They may believe that they are living in the style of the old days, but they are not. One can never go back to the old days. Life has changed and so have all of us. You can never cross the same river twice. The river has changed and so have you. Cultures change in two ways. They change in their social structures, and they change in their symbolic systems. It is now time to consider some current examples of how change works and the problems caused by change within a cultural system.

Cultural Change During Periods of Crisis

Lisa Mastny (2000) has described some of the problems that occurred when the ancient hunting traditions of the Inuit clashed with those of the encroaching industrial societies of the South (Canada, the United States, and Russia). The changes took place in two major ways: contact with outsiders and changes in climate such as global warming. Her discussion begins with the Elders of Pelly Bay, an Inuit community on Canada's Arctic coastline. They were working on being self-sufficient and were in the process of marketing their Kiviuq (mythical traveller) dolls when federal agents at the U.S. Border in Buffalo, New York confiscated them. The dolls were being shipped to a master puppeteer in the United States, but they ended up in the hands of the Fish and Wildlife Service. These items were barred from entry into the country because they violated the Marine Mammal Protection Act of 1972. The dolls were made of sealskin and whalebone, both considered illegal under the 1972 Act. These items were crucial for the economic survival of the Nunavut, a nation of 23,000 people.

What is interesting about these Inuit is that they had experienced widespread cultural and political renewal and had a unique opportunity to create a self-sustaining economy. This group wanted to maintain its old ways. They were excellent hunters. However, they could not return to the past. Their lives changed when they encountered European and North American commercial whalers in the early 20th century. They were hired as hunters and served as guides on trading expeditions. They even served as crewmembers on whaling vessels. They changed because their technology and social structure changed. In the early 1900s, for example, they encountered the devastating effects of influenza when the 200 Inupiat (the group near the Beaufort Sea) were left with only 40 survivors. Their lives changed when they accepted the practices of the venturing capitalists who changed their economic system into a cash society. They changed when they adopted the whaling technology of these outsiders and began to use whaling guns to harpoon their food supply. They changed when they accepted the value systems of missionaries who wanted to convert them into a new system of spiritual belief. They changed when they gave up their igloos for fixed housing. They changed when they accepted the education system of the outsiders. They changed when they started to use the languages of these venture capitalists in lieu of their own. They changed when they gave up their old use of medicines and replaced them with medical supplies. They changed when they replaced hunting with cannery work. They changed when they could no longer survive on their own as they did in the old days. Even though they were working hard on going back to the old days, their dreams were crushed. The problem was that they could never really go back to the old days.

Mastny (2000) continues her discussion by looking at other groups living in the region of the Arctic Circle. She mentions how, in some tribes, the skin covered kayaks were replaced by motor boats and how the old stone-tipped harpoons were replaced by high-powered harpoon cannons. Snow sleds were replaced by snowmobiles. Hunters now use telescopes, rifles, radio transmitters, small planes, and all forms of technology now available to them.

Not only have the hunters changed, their families have as well. Inuit families watch sports events on TV. Their children play video games. They use computers, invest in stocks, drive cars, and share in all of the amenities of industrial life. We are not trying to argue that they should not do these things; we are just reiterating the fact that their social organization has changed many times over. They can no longer be hunters in the way of the old days. International laws now dictate what they can hunt and when they can do it. What is interesting about these changes in Inuit culture is that such societal transformations are not unique. The whole world is undergoing major changes and with such rapidity that even the host culture is in the process of being replaced by a newly emerging system based on information.

Change in the Information Society

Alvin Toffler (1970) has eloquently noted that we are all in a time of great change. Things are happening so rapidly that we are unable to process all of the new information. In addition to this, we are encountering a break with the past. The reason for these changes is that we are restructuring our industrial societies to cope with changes brought about by the newly emerging information technologies. Our relationships have undergone tremendous change. We now have highly segmental conceptions of self. We no longer invest in knowing others in depth; we know only fragments of who they are. Our contacts with others have become superficial. Toffler (1970, p. 97) calls this the "modular man." Rather than entangling ourselves fully with others, we now plug into a module of a person's personality. Our relationships with others are safely limited. We have become fragmented personalities. This new way of seeing people makes enduring and meaningful social relationships very difficult to develop and sustain. Hence, we tend to have superficial and short-duration relationships.

Another aspect of the new information age is mobility. We move a lot. We change jobs often. Companies treat us as temporary employees. We have become "rent-a-persons." We change homes often. We even change friends often. We make friends and then move away from them. The people we know are all just acquaintances. If friendships are based on shared interests and aptitudes, then friendships change as our relationships with others change. We are comers and movers. Our children have become nomads. The old concept of the family is dead. People used to marry for stability. Many of us now have serial marriages. We also have aggregate families where our children are related to each other through divorce and remarriage. We now have fractured families.

Where will all of these changes take us? We don't know. We are on the move. We know that information is the most important feature of this new society. We know that we need to be highly educated. We must have a new sense of technology. We must be flexible and learn to readjust to events encroaching on our lives. We now have electronic mail addresses. We now have electronic friends, e-friends. We now do business over the Internet, e-commerce. Furthermore, many libraries no longer have card catalogues. When we look for books, we must do an electronic search. Even some of our books have been housed in electronic

libraries and databases, virtual libraries. We live in accelerated societies. How can we hold on to the old ways when everything is changing?

We are moving away from an energy based industrial society toward an information society with its heavy emphasis on developing, processing, and transmitting information. Yet some forms of the information society are not viable. They would lead to a destruction of the very ecological base that makes possible all human societies. The only forms of the information societies that will not self-destruct are those that will incorporate an Ecological Culture. Such cultures will place the highest emphasis on sustainable ecological relationships and cooperative enhancement of human relationships. Anything short of tending to ecological relationships and our relationships with each other will ultimately put largely irreversible and intolerable burdens on the ecosystem of the planet.

There is a difference in knowing where we are going versus where we want to go. In the next paragraphs, we will suggest that the goal for this new information age is in Deep Ecology. The new language is ecological, and the community includes all of us—the Gaia Hypothesis.

The World Crisis in Ecology

It is time that we turn the discussion back to the Arctic Circle and the reason why we need to create a new cultural consciousness that is sensitive to nature, something that many of the indigenous cultures of the Americas have in common. Mastny (2000, pp. 28-30) describes the ecological crisis that the Inuit face. During the 1950s, pilots noticed a thick haze blanketing the Arctic region. They found out that it was smog. This air pollution could not have come from the Polar Regions because there are no factories in that area. It came from the south, from the industries of Canada, Russia, the United States, and even the tropics. Scientists investigated this smog and were surprised to learn that it contained a large proportion of contaminants from heavy metal, mercury, cadmium, and PCBs. These contaminates were also found in the food chain in large quantities. A study of Inuit women on Baffin Island (Canada) showed that their breast milk contained high levels of chlordane, a pesticide. They discovered 200 different toxins in this region. These chemical experts warned the Inuit not to eat the food of that region. They encouraged them to eat imported foods. Medical reports on those who had been on the industrial society diet for awhile showed that there was a steep rise in diseases characteristically associated with the industrial nations south of the Arctic Circle—diseases of the heart, liver, and kidneys. These changes in nature directly affected the culture of the Inuit. How can you be a hunter when you are not able to hunt? How can you be a hunter when the government will not let you hunt? How can you be a hunter if what you kill has been poisoned and is no longer fit to eat?

Researchers in the polar region also found that the frozen tundra was melting. Higher temperatures meant that the ice was melting, and when the ice melts, it cannot reflect back the rays of the sun. This process of reflection is known as the Aalbedo effect," in which 80 to 90% of the sunlight in the polar region is reflected back into space, leaving the Arctic region cold. When the ice and snow

melts in this region, it exposes large areas of land directly to sunlight. The resulting disappearance of ice bridges has had a direct affect on some of the migrating animals in the region such as the moose and the lynx. The melting also has an affect on the spawning routes of the king salmon. Between 1978 and 1996, the Arctic Sea ice cover shrank by 5.5%, resulting in a loss of almost one million square kilometres of terrain.

We do not have to go to the Arctic Circle to find ecological disasters. They are everywhere. The cultures of the industrial nations had only one relationship with nature, use and abuse. Their irresponsibility has had an ecological impact on all nations, including those of the Inuit.

Towards a New Cultural Deep Ecology

Fritjof Capra (1996) begins his new book with a quotation that was inspired by Chief Seattle. It paraphrases the wisdom of his words. It reminds us that we are connected in a larger community and that the language and the values that we hold speak for the new community, Mother Earth:

> This we know,
> All things are connected
> Like the blood
> Which unites one family . . .
>
> Whatever befalls the earth,
> Befalls the sons and daughters of the earth.
> Man did not weave the web of life;
> He is merely a strand in it.
> Whatever he does to the web,
> He does to himself. (Ted Perry in Capra, 1996)

There is a new breed of scientists among us. They are human system theorists, coming from a wide range of disciplines. Some are physicists (Fritjof Capra), chemists (Ilya Prigogine), neurologists (Humberto Maturana, Fracisco Varela), mathematicians (Benoît Mandelbrot, Stuart Kauffman), philosophers (Warwick Fox), and ecologists (Lynn Margulis, Joanna Macy). They all share one thing in common—systems thinking. Human beings and the groups they create constitute the systems that fascinate them the most. These researchers and philosophers are asking new questions about life. Arne Naess calls the philosophy behind this new paradigm Deep Ecology. This new field looks at culture in terms of a "social paradigm," a constellation of concepts, values, perceptions, and practices shared by a community. The practitioners of systems thinking contrast their worldview with those of "shallow ecology," an anthropomorphic or human-centred view of nature. People who subscribe to shallow ecology believe that the land is not sacred and that it is there to be used for our purposes. They see the world as a collection of isolated objects, aggregates. In deep ecology, on the other hand, the world doesn't consist of isolated objects, but networks. We are all inter-related. It recognizes the value of all human beings.

These scientists have come to realize that their old values were embedded in a materialistic view of the world. With the rise of western science under René Descartes, the notion of the universe as an organic, living, and spiritual place was replaced by a view of the world as a machine. This is the metaphor of life that the indigenous peoples of the Americas encountered when their social systems were disturbed by outside forces. The world of the machine is a dead world. This view of science overlooks the social construction of self-serving bias. It is a world governed only by mathematical laws, a very assertive world based on analysis and reductionism. However, the world that systems scientists are striving for is an integrative world based on co-operation, conservation, partnerships, and intuition. It replaces the hierarchies of power with those of networks. Their community is the world. Their values are based on healing relationships.

Why are we talking about Deep Ecology and how does it relate to saving one's language and culture? What we are putting forward in this essay is systems thinking. We began with the concept of social systems as having both social structures and cultures (meanings encoded in symbols). We noted that in many past cultures these two are intrinsically connected. The social structures of the community reflect the values of that group. However, with the passage of time, many changes in social structure occur. In various periods in the life of these groups, social structures change rapidly. This may be due to outside contacts or due to new forms of power and control from within. When this happens, the values of the community begin to conflict with the new changes in social structure. For example, the value of the family as a place of primary socialization is upheld even though television (a technological intrusion) competes with parents and provides children with a set of values counter to those upheld by their parents. When the changes in the meanings of a group are so different from other aspects of everyday life, a cultural revolution occurs. A newer cultural model replaces the old one. Sometimes these revolutions are very obvious because of vocal conflicts within the community. Sometimes, as in the case of advertising, the changes are insidious. What this all amounts to is that cultures change. All cultures change. There are no pure cultures, no pure races, no pure anything. Indeed, all cultures in the world are changing. Even the host culture of the business-dominated North America is changing (Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars, 1992). Hence, we need to stop talking about saving a culture forever because that is impossible. We need to ask new questions about cultural change.

We know that all of our cultural systems have a range of values. Some of them are admirable, altruistic, and humanizing; others are confrontational, depletive, and disparaging. When our cultures change, we should work on saving the good and releasing the bad. Capra (1996, p. 11) notes that this is a long and difficult process and that we must seriously consider what is to be lost in the transition. If we remember the quotation based on Chief Seattle, we recognize that we are strands in the web of life and that what we do to others, we do to ourselves. Our communities can no longer be made up of just ourselves. So if we save the good aspects of our cultural systems and share them with others, we

share the best for all of us. The new scientists of deep ecology note that the defining characteristic of this new way of thinking is ethics. They found that the old way of doing science was not life preserving; it was life destroying. They question why biologists would release new and unknown types of micro-organisms into the environment. They question biologists who torture animals and produce commercial cosmetics in the name of science. They disapprove of physicists spending so much time creating war devices.

So what is the new ethics of deep ecology? The answer may surprise you. All of these great minds have noted that there was a time when we deeply respected Mother Earth. There was a time when we knew of the stars, the moon, the sun, and the planets, and we felt closely related to them. There was a time when the sun was sacred. Now, we know the answer. The people that they are talking about are the First Nations and the First Peoples. They are seeking your wisdom. They read about you with love and respect. They want to adopt the best of your cultural values into the new Ecological Culture. If you concur with this new quest, you may find the next step in this process to be the most difficult—sharing your values.

Sharing Cultural Values

There is a great distrust of outsiders among us. We do not believe that others understand us. We question why they want to learn our language. We find their questions about our folklore to be disturbing. We refuse to answer them and label our knowledge as tribal secrets. Even those whom we have know for many years occasionally provoke doubt in us. What we do not realize is that when a culture can only turn within, it dies. The walls of protection around us have become prison walls. Some of our leaders have become like prison guards. Our children understand this. They are known for their jail breaks. Some are fugitives wanted by tribal laws. Perhaps it is time to really look at tribal self-disclosure because we feel that it is the product of faulty thinking.

When we share our cultures, important parts of them continue to live. When we do not, they die. What does it mean to share? It means letting others know the best of your cultural system. It means the presentation of tribal self (Goffman, 1965). It means sharing those values and maintaining their authenticity as a new kind of symbolic maintenance (Berger & Luckmann, 1965). Under the old paradigm of shallow ecology, sharing was a dangerous activity because people would use tribal self-disclosure against them. In the thinking of the new deep ecology, the cultural ecology, sharing is networking. It is learning of the best of others so that we all overcome the evils of the past. For example, the tradition of the Medicine Wheel is a wonderful philosophy that incorporates many of the values of the new Ecological Culture. Such knowledge should not remain hidden.

What many of us may have trouble with in this new cultural ecology is what we perceive to be the negative side of change—the old cultural ways die. This view is wrong. Many of the old cultural values continue to live, but they live in a new network of co-operation. They now belong to a larger community. Never before has the wisdom of the First Peoples and the First Nations been more in

demand. Never before has there been a new way of looking at the world that mirrors the traditional values of the past among hunters and gatherers and also horticulturists.

It is important to note the complexity of the subject of cultural sharing. For those who lead bilingual lives, the need for sharing is not an issue. Bilinguals live in both cultures; they continue to have an awareness of their own tribal values. However, when they are not aware of their own cultural values, they become prime candidates for forced identities. An identity is how you define yourself. A forced identity is how others define you. This is really what is at issue in cultural change. Each group has its own heritage. That is something that can never be taken away from you. Where did the Romans go? They are now called the Italians. All Italians know their heritage. They consider themselves to be the modern Romans. However, what has changed is their identity. They have new identities. They do not limit themselves by the past. They respect their past and cherish its tradition, but they are not limited by it. They are living in the present. They have a new identity. In portions of Italy, there are cultural movements lead by Italians to redefine themselves. They have done this by limiting the construction of their cities. They limit high rises; they make the church the centre of the city and so forth. They have modern identities, but they live in the heritage of their past. A similar situation can be found among members of First Nations and First Peoples. They share a rich heritage, but their identities vary greatly. Some are scientists; others are businessmen, farmers, or teachers. What is important, however, is that others not define them and that they define themselves. There have been numerous attempts by others to define them. Those who have accepted these definitions of self have adopted forced identities. History is replete with examples of such forced identities. Those who have not accepted the definition of self by others, remain centred.

Conclusion

We know that we cannot stop change. We know that change goes on all of the time. Cultures change; societies change; people change; languages change. Not all change is bad. It depends on where it is headed. We have argued that change toward shallow ecology is bad. Good change includes movement toward deep ecology. We also know that some cultures continue to absorb others. This process is called acculturation. The culture that continues to grow is a living culture, and the one that does not becomes a museum culture. It is time to rethink the concept of culture. It is the product of a system of relationships. These relationships change, and, consequently, the culture built upon them changes. When two cultures come into contact, we assume that one dominates and controls the other, leaving the weaker cultural system depleted and transformed in the process. This was the old way of looking at cultural contact. If humans are to avoid destroying themselves and their planet, this can no longer be the case. The new approach to change is to move toward networking. We desperately need to have the First Peoples and the First Nations in these networks. It will not come about in a climate of secrecy. It will not come about when a wall of suspicion

and mistrust is erected to prevent these values from becoming part of the larger ecological community.

Let us look at how cultural change works when values are shared. As any student of history knows, the Danes dominated England at one point. They provided England with its own legal system, Danish Law. After many generations, the Danes became British in heart and mind, but England was now a mixture of two groups, and the new legal system of England was Danish. Later, the French invaded and occupied England. They moved the capitol from Canterbury to London and made French the official language. Within two centuries, the French were absorbed. They became British, but the new language of Middle English was a combination of French and English. What we need to remember is that change is reciprocal. This is because the process of enculturation is mutual. Each group borrows from the other. When we borrow something from another culture, it becomes ours.

Fritjof Capra (1996) notes that natural change is like a flowing river. It is always moving. If we only focus on the periods of stability on the surface of the river, we overlook the fact that, underneath, we have raging currents. It continues to flow. Some of the past is never lost. It remains within the system in some form or shape or manner. Within the framework of dynamic human systems, important parts of cultures need not be lost. They change and become a part of the newly emerging system, especially if action is taken to promote such incorporation. This is the first time in human history when even the most influential and dominant cultures cannot preserve their most important dimensions. Indeed, the presently (and only temporarily) dominant cultures must change the most. It is their cultures that are utterly incompatible with ecological preservation. In their present configuration, their cultural values are the biggest obstacles to the preservation of the minimum planetary ecosystem absolutely necessary to prevent world-wide catastrophes. Impending problems, some of which will be at such a level as to be declared disasters, are likely to accompany global warming, the destruction of the ozone layer, mass species extinction, and other changes resulting from the organization of the industrial societies. A new culture is unavoidable if ecological problems are to be minimized. No existing cultures anywhere in the world will be preserved in their entirety. Some will change much more than others will. This is the new community and this is where the language of the Tribes needs to merge with the language of the new Ecological Culture.

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Building a Community Language Development Team with Québec Naskapi

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Although the Naskapi language has many features in common with other Algonquian languages spoken in northern Quebec, it is in a unique situation because of the Naskapi people's relatively late date of European contact, their geographic isolation, and the fact that, within their territory, Naskapi speakers outnumber speakers of Canada's official languages.

Historically, the vernacular word from which we derive the modern term "Naskapi" was applied to people not yet influenced by European culture. Nowadays, however, it refers specifically to the most remote Indian groups of the Quebec-Labrador peninsula (Mailhot, 1986). The Naskapi of today, who now comprise the *Naskapi Nation of Kawawachikamach* near Schefferville, are direct descendants of nomadic caribou hunters of the Ungava tundra region. Although they are sometimes considered a part of the larger *Innu* grouping (also referred to as *Montagnais-Naskapi* by linguists and anthropologists), the Naskapi themselves insist that they are a unique people-group. Indeed, it can be shown both linguistically and ethnographically that the Naskapi are distinct from their neighbours (Jancewicz, 1998). Although they do share many cultural and linguistic traits with the Labrador Innu, the Quebec Montagnais, and the East Cree, they also have a unique history and some distinct linguistic forms that set them apart. The Naskapi language has retained a core vocabulary not found in related languages or in neighbouring dialects, although the majority of the vocabulary and the pronunciation reflect the variety of their contacts with other language groups.

Since being resettled in the Schefferville area in 1956, the Naskapi have maintained the use of their own language for all domestic interactions in spite of an increasing level of contact with Montagnais and with speakers of Canada's two official languages, English and French. Their syllabic writing system, similar to that used by Cree and Ojibwe communities across Canada, was traditionally used for reading the Cree Bibles, prayer books, and hymnals and for a limited amount of writing.

Even though up to the early 1970s there were no formalized Naskapi language resource materials in the school or workplace, the Naskapi language remained in use in the home and church. In this respect, its situation was similar to that of other indigenous languages in northern Quebec, and the efforts which had begun to address the lack of vernacular material in other communities were to lead to change in the Naskapi situation as well (MacKenzie, 1992).

For the last two decades, a language development strategy has been emerging as the Naskapi community benefited from academic and technical resources being developed on behalf of indigenous languages. This strategy began by inviting language specialists from outside the community to provide assistance with specific projects, and it has evolved in ways that include more involvement for Naskapi speaking individuals from within the community. The process, which

began with teacher training, now includes the creation of full-time employment opportunities in language roles for Naskapi people.

Outside language specialists first became involved in the community in a significant way with the Project for the Amerindianization of the Schools in the 1970s (MacKenzie, 1992). The implementation of this project brought linguists into a number of Quebec indigenous communities to train speakers in language teaching and linguistics. An important by-product of this project was the production of pedagogical grammars and lexicons, which assisted in the standardization of the orthographies and increased awareness of the need for local indigenous control of education. Although three Naskapi teachers from the Naskapi School participated in the project, the initial benefit to Naskapi education was limited by other factors.

In general, the Naskapi Nation Office, with its Chief and Council form of government, also carries some responsibility that directly relates to language use, for instance translation work and the sponsorship of the Naskapi Newspaper. Since its establishment, it has been the policy of the Naskapi Nation Office to implement the translation of all administrative and government documents into Naskapi, leading to the employment of full time Naskapi language professionals.

The Naskapi Development Corporation has a different mandate, which includes fostering education, improving living conditions, and encouraging and assisting in preserving the Naskapi way of life (i.e., Naskapi values and traditions). Primary objectives of the Corporation are to study and document the Naskapi language and to encourage and promote its use, along with studying and documenting Naskapi history and culture. The Development Corporation has thus become the centre for full time language development work.

The material and financial resources that are now controlled by the Naskapi themselves in the form of the Naskapi School, the Naskapi Nation Office, and the Development Corporation, have finally made the active promotion of the Naskapi language and the production of Naskapi language materials a realistic possibility in the community. Early on, the need to address the issue of language endangerment was recognized by the Naskapi leadership, and steps were taken to acquire and retain the assistance of language specialists to facilitate in the production of Naskapi language materials.

Situations have been different in other Native communities in Northern Quebec, and similar strategies have produced varying results. For example, the Amerindianization of the Schools project was able to produce an effective, self-determining Native language educational system among the Cree, largely because of an adequate number of trained Cree language professionals working in the educational system (Burnaby & MacKenzie, 1998).

Among the Naskapi, however, few teachers were trained by the project, and, until very recently, only one Naskapi actually taught the language. During a period of almost two decades, there was little or no progress made by the education system to increase the use of Naskapi as the language of instruction or to raise Naskapi literacy rates. The Naskapi School lacked the "critical mass" of

trained and motivated Naskapi language teachers and the administrative vision and willingness to maintain the Naskapi language in education.

However, in the community administrative structures outside of education, especially in the Nation Office and in the Development Corporation, this vision and willingness did exist, resulting in the development of the following key Naskapi language resources:

Naskapi lexicon. Beginning in the mid 1970s, under the auspices of the Amerindianization project, one of the authors, a linguist associated with Memorial University of Newfoundland, began making regular visits to the community for teacher training. Word lists compiled by the language teacher were incorporated into the database compiled for the parallel Cree lexicon, also under her supervision. In 1980, the Naskapi Band received funding from the provincial government, and two Naskapi men were hired to collect and write down words, under the supervision of the linguist. The Naskapi Development Corporation agreed to take over sponsorship of the project in the early 1980s, and linguists associated with the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) provided valuable continuity and on-site assistance.

After years of compiling, sorting, and checking, and by enlisting the assistance of numerous specialists for technical tasks, the Naskapi Lexicon word list was computerized, revised, formatted, and published by the Development Corporation in 1994. A three volume set in Naskapi, English, and French, it is positioned to become the standard reference for orthography and spelling in the Naskapi community. As with other Amerindian languages, the community depends on the lexicon as a resource to aid in the standardization of the orthography. In most cases, standardization is an ongoing process, with changes being incorporated as knowledge of grammar increases. For Naskapi, this work continues as these volumes gain acceptance and are revised and expanded.

Naskapi Grammar. On completion of the lexicon, the team of linguists turned to the documentation of Naskapi grammar, joined by a doctoral student who completed her dissertation on aspects of Naskapi syntax (Brittain, 1999, 2001). This reference grammar is being produced in modules covering phonology, noun and verb morphology, syntax, and discourse patterns.

Naskapi legends. In 1967-68, John Peastitute, an Elder, participated in a project initiated by the Laboratoire d'anthropologie amérindienne to document on audiotape Quebec Aboriginal legends and stories. These tapes, made available to the Naskapi community in 1994 for transcription and translation, have resulted in a corpus of over 40 traditional and oral history texts. Under the direction of the linguistic team, the tapes have been transcribed and keyboarded by trained Naskapi personnel and are currently being translated and analyzed with a view to their eventual publication in Naskapi, English, and French. Morpheme-by-morpheme interlinear glossing is being carried out along with free translations that preserve the literary integrity of the originals. These stories are being made available to the Naskapi Curriculum Development Project. The decision made to have the recordings transferred to digital media because the original analog

tapes were deteriorating is an example of some of the urgent preservation issues that are being addressed by having outside language specialists involved in these projects.

Naskapi syllabics word processing. In 1988, the recently arrived field worker with SIL was asked to develop a system for keyboarding the Naskapi syllabic script. Up until this time, all Naskapi language material had been painstakingly copied by hand or typed on a special IBM Selectric typewriter. Any materials to be published had to be edited and typeset by outside specialists with little knowledge of the Naskapi language. Inevitably, errors were introduced into the texts, along with the failure to use the standard local orthography. Although Naskapi orthography is similar to East Cree, there are enough differences that a custom font and keyboarding system acceptable to the Naskapi had to be developed. By 1989, this was accomplished, and three Naskapi had been trained in the use of this system. Finally, Naskapi language material could be produced, edited, and reproduced by Naskapi people themselves on a local level using equipment on hand.

Since that time, the syllabics word processing system has been upgraded, improved, and reprogrammed to work across platforms and operating systems. Over 35 PCs and about 10 Macintosh computers are currently in use by Naskapi persons in the community, many of whom have been trained to successfully keyboard and format Naskapi literature. The current Naskapi font and keyboarding system is easy to use, integrates seamlessly into popular word processing systems, and is recognized as one of the key factors in equipping the Naskapi to develop their own language materials.

By providing this kind of technical support for the local orthography, this outside language specialist helped increase the quality of printed Naskapi, enabled a much larger quantity of material to be produced, and improved the perceived value of the language among speakers and readers.

Naskapi newspapers and radio. During the 1970s, when the negotiations for the Northeastern Quebec Agreement were underway, the Naskapi Band produced a Naskapi language newsletter that kept the community informed of progress. Since that time, the Band has had varying degrees of success maintaining their monthly publication goal for the newspaper. Over the years, the Development Corporation's linguist has been asked to provide technical assistance and training to the Band's personnel involved in the newspaper, and he has run a desktop publishing course for prospective Naskapi editors. It is still hoped that through a renewed commitment from the sponsoring organizations and securing a dedicated Naskapi editor, the Naskapi Newspaper (Tipachimoon) may become an important means of language maintenance and an important forum for Naskapi journalism.

Another important vehicle for language maintenance, local radio, is also supported by the Development Corporation. During the 15 hours of daily broadcasting, Naskapi is the only language used by announcers, continuing the tradition of oral transmission of news and information.

Naskapi Bible translation. From 1978-83, SIL linguists worked in conjunction with the Naskapi church to help translate the Bible and other materials into Naskapi. They were also invited to assist with the Naskapi lexicon. In 1988, other SIL linguists arrived to continue the work. After three years of language study and residence, work on translation and literature production recommenced. With funding received to produce a series of readers containing portions of the Gospels, a Naskapi co-translator was hired and trained in translation principles and syllabic keyboarding and editing. Published in 1995 by the Canadian Bible Society, these readers became the first published literature in the Naskapi language.

Following the completion of this project, the Naskapi translator has continued to develop his skills as a Naskapi mother-tongue language specialist, employed by the Nation full time as an administrative translator and member of the Curriculum Development and Education Committees.

Occasionally, funding is secured to hire and train additional Naskapi translators for full time translation of the Bible and other culturally and educationally relevant materials. These language workers are being equipped to confidently produce quality Naskapi language materials for the community as Naskapi mother tongue specialists.

The SIL linguist has been employed as the Naskapi Development Corporation's linguist in residence. He is responsible for co-ordinating and training Naskapi language specialists and not only acts as a liaison for the Nation, the Development Corporation, the Naskapi church, and the school, but also serves as a technical resource on language matters.

Naskapi curriculum development. In spite of the slow response of the education system to language endangerment, certain individuals within the school have taken action to maintain Naskapi language vitality. Around 1989, it was recognized that early education in the mother tongue could improve students' later achievement in English. Prior to this time, the Naskapi school followed a tacit policy of English immersion beginning as early as pre-kindergarten, even though Naskapi teachers had been trained through the Amerindianization of the Schools project. Although students were becoming marginally successful in English, those successfully literate in Naskapi were rare. In response, what was to become the Naskapi Curriculum Development Project was initiated.

Using material developed by other Native communities in Quebec as a guide, funding was secured for Naskapi language curriculum materials. In 1994, the school and Naskapi leaders set a goal of Naskapi as the language of instruction in the primary grades, a radical departure from the system whereby the Naskapi language was taught as a subject for less than one session per day. Following the establishment of a committee that included non-Naskapi specialists, Naskapi teachers, Naskapi Elders, other community members, and a pedagogical specialist, Naskapi resource persons were trained and began to produce a coherent Naskapi curriculum.

By the 1995-1996 school year, enough material was ready to conduct Pre-Kindergarten using Naskapi as the language of instruction. The goal established

by the Curriculum Development Committee was that each year an additional grade level would be added. For the school year 1997-1998, grade one was conducted in Naskapi, and objective testing determined that first grade students' ability in written Naskapi surpassed that of students entering high school who had not used this curriculum. Unfortunately, the departure of the on-site pedagogical specialist has resulted in a loss of momentum for this project.

It is obvious that if the curriculum development project is to be successful, it will take the combined efforts of Naskapi and non-Native specialists alike. The training and involvement of Naskapi persons as specialists has become a major challenge and goal of the project. Although this goal has strained the financial resources, it has helped to raise public awareness in the community that, despite language endangerment, there are mitigating steps that the community can take to maintain and develop their language.

Currently, the Naskapi curriculum development project still lacks the "critical mass" of committed individuals, trained Naskapi workers, and experienced specialists. What is needed is vision, a willingness among administrators and Naskapi educators, and the strategic distribution of financial resources to retain language and educational specialists in key roles in order to provide quality pedagogical training to Naskapi teachers and language workers.

The Naskapi community has begun to take advantage of outside resources available to indigenous communities, including consultant help from universities, Bible translation societies, anthropology laboratories, technology specialists, and pedagogical specialists in the process of developing a strategy that includes increasing Naskapi responsibility and involvement. We see this "team approach," combining outside and community level resources, as the key to sustained Naskapi language development.

Non-Naskapi Specialists

The Naskapi language community has clearly benefited from the efforts of non-Naskapi specialists working toward the preservation and maintenance of the language. Linguists, anthropologists, educators, and clergy have all played an important role in developing critical Naskapi language materials. They have not only produced the material, but also worked to equip the Naskapi with the abilities and skills needed to carry out this task on their own.

Although most assistance by specialists from the outside has been beneficial, clearly the most effective work has been carried out by those specialists who have had long-term involvement in the community on a personal level. These specialists have made efforts to learn to speak, read, and write the language themselves. A generalization could be made that efforts to help indigenous languages enjoy greater success when outside specialists make a commitment to the community by investing time and effort in language learning.

Mother-Tongue Specialists

It has been shown that, through the efforts of certain Naskapi speakers who are confident in their own literacy skills, the community has maintained a high

degree of language use in each generation up to the present. Nevertheless, it is important at this stage that Naskapi speakers continue to acquire the academic and technical skills necessary to assume more of the language related responsibilities.

The Naskapi community has greatly benefited from local leaders who possess a high degree of vernacular literacy, which is a vital ingredient in the Naskapi strategy. For 26 years, a Naskapi considered to be an authority in Naskapi reading and writing served as Chief. He assisted with the compilation and editing of the Naskapi lexicon, serves as a resource person and proofreader for Bible translation projects, and is currently employed by the curriculum development project. Naskapi community leadership has historically placed a high priority on Naskapi language matters; it is vital that this priority be maintained.

In the past, the Naskapi church played an important role in Naskapi language development. In recent years, through their interest and co-operation, the clergy resident in the community have made important contributions to Naskapi language maintenance. Since the 1990s, the church has supported Bible translation efforts, the production and use of vernacular prayer booklets, weekly distribution of printed Naskapi religious materials, and the publication of the first Naskapi hymnal. All of these were accomplished in close partnership with both the non-Naskapi and the mother-tongue specialists in the community. The success of these projects exemplifies the kind of partnerships that the authors of this paper endorse.

Summary

In contrast with the situations in other indigenous communities in Northern Quebec, Naskapi efforts toward vernacular literacy have been much stronger in the administrative and political sectors than in the educational sector. Unlike the Naskapi, the Cree have had better success in developing and implementing vernacular programs in their educational system, but they enjoy much less involvement by the community administrative entities. The past two decades in the Naskapi community have been marked by respectable efforts on the part of the Naskapi Nation Council and the Naskapi Development Corporation to maintain and promote the Naskapi language. At the time of this writing, six Naskapi have been trained, and they are currently employed by these two community organizations as Naskapi language professionals. But measurable progress in the Naskapi educational sector has only occurred relatively recently. The Naskapi curriculum development project made impressive progress in the late 1990s, and it is hoped that these efforts in the school will be maintained and integrated with the other community language development projects.

An important conclusion to be drawn from this case study is that efforts to maintain the Naskapi language will continue to require the expertise and partnership of non-Naskapi specialists and Naskapi speakers themselves. Only as this continued partnership is recognized and implemented can this generation of Naskapi speakers be confident that they are assuring a secure future for their language and thus for their identity.

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Methods of Madness:
The Tuscarora Language Committee

Francene Patterson

The Tuscarora Nation is one of the six nations of the Haudenosaunee (people of the Longhouse) presently situated in western New York. Traditionally, it is believed that the Tuscarora originated near the St. Lawrence Valley along with the other five nations (Hale, 1883; Johnson, 1967), eventually separating and migrating southward into present day North Carolina. In 1722, after devastation of their land base during the Tuscarora War, they journeyed north and were taken into the Iroquois Confederacy, joining the Cayugas and Oneidas as one of the Younger Brothers; the Mohawk, Seneca, and Onondaga were considered the Older Brothers. We have since been relocated to reservation lands about twelve miles southeast of Niagara Falls, New York.

At one time, the Tuscarora language, a member of the Iroquoian language family, was spoken as the mother tongue, transmitted across the generations, and used for all informal and formal situations. In the 1800s, owing to the proximity of the non-Native society and the influence of boarding schools, the language began to lose its importance. Today, we have about four or five fluent Elders remaining, all in their seventies and eighties, and the language is in the shadows of extinction.

The Tuscarora Language Committee came into existence in the fall of 1995, developed from a final paper I had written for a course taken at the American Indian Language Development Institute (AILDI) at the University of Arizona. A language revitalization program, tailored to our own individual first language communities, was based on our needs and on what stage our language community was in. The Tuscarora language, according to renowned sociolinguist Dr. Joshua A. Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale, could be classified as being in stage seven, where language users are "socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active populations but beyond child-bearing age" (Fishman, 1991, p. 89).

Our remaining handful of Tuscarora Elder speakers have become involved in our language revitalization efforts and are willing to help promote and restore their first language. At one time, there were also Tuscarora speakers located on the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario, Canada, but, at this time, I am unaware of any fluent speakers remaining, although there may be several residents from one of the other Haudenosaunee communities with some familiarity with Tuscarora.

My first task upon returning from AILDI, with my revolutionary language saving, intergenerational mother tongue transmission-friendly proposal in my inexperienced, ready-to-conquer-the-world hands, was to present my plan to the Tuscarora Nation Chiefs' in Council, our traditional form of government. This would be a first for our Nation, a first step in the right direction towards language loss reversal. After the monumental presentation and subsequent approval, the Council brainstormed names of community members who might be recruited

for the project—those willing to take on the awesome responsibility of language revitalization. We began with, and still maintain, about ten enthusiastic, committed, and willing volunteers, each cognizant of the dangerous situation into which our language has fallen. We are from a fairly wide cross section of the community: teachers, homemakers, students, professional and blue-collar workers, Elders, Council representatives, and young people. The proposal was agreed upon, with some minor changes; long term and short term goals were accepted; and the wheels began to turn forward.

The following is a list of our accomplishments thus far:

- Our first task was to introduce ourselves to the community via an informational flyer, produced at no cost, which we inserted in every mailbox on the territory; a Tuscarora Language Committee (TLC) member donated the use of their copier and paper.
- Next we developed a simple questionnaire designed to determine the language attitudes of the community. Again, we distributed the questionnaire to every mailbox and waited for responses, but they proved to be few and far between. Solution: set up a booth at our yearly local Community Fair, give free tickets to win a basket of goodies (donated by a TLC member) to any adult filling out a questionnaire. The results showed an interest in language revitalization, and many people made helpful suggestions—at no cost.
- An informational brochure was developed and distributed at community functions. The minimal cost for professional printing was donated by a TLC member.
- We set up interactive displays at our annual Community Fair, at the Nation school's Culture Night, and at other community events.
- We installed Nation boundary signs written in Tuscarora, which were donated by a generous and concerned non-Native from the surrounding area.
- We printed Christmas cards and Valentine's cards written in the language, which were made on my home computer and sold at minimal cost to cover the expense of paper and envelopes.
- Conversational vocabulary tapes were sold at cost.
- We wrote a newsletter. Copies were made from a TLC member's home copier at no cost.
- We produced a calendar written in Tuscarora using the program *Publisher* and scanning old pictures gathered from the community for each month. The cost of this project was mostly time; the only expenses were the paper, plastic binding, and minimal printing costs. A TLC member was able to have them bound at school, at no cost.
- Using the profits from the calendar sales, we were able to purchase micro-cassette recorders for our Elders, enabling them to record on the spur of the moment any words that might suddenly occur to them out of the blue.

- The TLC initiated the instalment of a sign to be written in Tuscarora and to be constructed at the Tuscarora Indian School on our Nation territory. The cost was covered by the operating school district's budget.
- An official orthography has been introduced and established, developed by Marianne Mithun, an Iroquoian linguist, and me.
- We have met with community organization and club leaders to help them utilize relevant Tuscarora vocabulary within their respective groups.

One of our guiding principles—the "method in our madness"—is that promoting your language efforts and developing revitalization strategies does not necessarily require a lot of funding. All of our accomplishments, although not extravagantly produced, have been at little or no cost. All of our language advocates are operating on a volunteer basis. We have no budget, no grant writers, and no administrative overheads or salaries. If there is a cost involved in producing materials, we find a way to circumvent those costs utilizing local resources and taking advantage of the generosity of our supporters.

Of course, we do have goals and wish-lists: visions of professionally bound and printed children's books overflowing with colour, volumes of video taped interviews with Elders, summer language camps, and even fleeting thoughts of actual libraries to house archival materials and archaic manuscripts. These are all jam on the fry bread. What we need now is for people to take our language situation seriously and to take steps towards language renewal; each one of us needs to become responsible. Steps such as these do not require money.

We are aware of foundations with private grants willing to sponsor our wish-list projects, and perhaps the time will come to take advantage of those funds. But, for now, we are willing to take the low road toward progressivism and "big bucks" dependency and to lean towards true independent grassroots strategies. Freedom from webs of bureaucratic red tape, at this point, takes precedence over data gathering and budget monitoring. There is so little time to accomplish so much. We waste no time squabbling over money because there is no money to squabble over. All around Indian country, I have witnessed the perils of the so-called advantages of money and seen the focus of language revitalization programs shift to money gathering away from language saving. Contrary to how it may sound, I do feel there is a need for certain projects to be funded, and I appreciate those who are generous to these projects and understand the need to prevent language extinction; however, I also feel that the human spirit of giving needs to be nurtured by the accomplishments and rewards of hard work. The old adage tells us, "Where there is a will, there is a way," not "Where there is a dollar, there is a way." Our ancestors prophesied our weakening due to the pitfalls of the "shiny metal," and it is becoming more obvious every day.

We are still likened to babes when it comes to language revitalization. Ireland has been fighting their battle for over two hundred years. As long as the Creator allows our mouths to speak, our ears to hear, and our minds to believe, we will continue our battle to protect the Tuscarora language. Whether or not our unborn

faces will hear the Creator's gift of words tomorrow depends on what we do today.

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Daghida: Cold Lake First Nation Works Towards Dene Language Revitalization

Heather Blair, Sally Rice, Valerie Wood, John Janvier

The Daghida Project is a research alliance between the community of Cold Lake First Nations and the University of Alberta sponsored by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. As is the case in many First Nations communities in North America (Blair & Fredeen, 1995; Crawford, 1995; Kirkness, 1998; Zepeda & Hill, 1991), the people of Cold Lake are very concerned about the risk of losing their language. In this paper, we will outline the context of language loss on the Cold Lake First Nations (CLFN) reserve as well as describe the collaborative research project between the academic community and that of Cold Lake First Nations and the efforts supported by this project to revitalize the Dene Suline language.

The Cold Lake First Nations Dene Suline[1] live near Cold Lake, Alberta, approximately 300 kilometres northeast of Edmonton on the Alberta and Saskatchewan border. They originally lived in family groups on lands encompassing roughly 150,000 square kilometres, although the reserve lands that they now inhabit represent less than one percent of their traditional territory. They were a nomadic people who maintained both summer and winter camps, travelling between them by foot or dog team. After the signing of Treaty Six in 1876, many families worked on their reserve farms in summer raising cattle and horses. In winter, they continued to travel north to hunt, trap, and fish.

In the early 1950s, the federal government turned the traditional Dene Suline territory into an air weapons range (Canadian Forces Base 4-Wing Cold Lake). The people lost access to their lands and were relocated to three small reserves near Cold Lake totalling approximately 18,720 hectares in size. Most children were sent to Catholic residential schools off the reserve. The schools had an especially devastating effect on the Dene language and way of life not just because the children were discouraged from or actively punished for speaking their Native tongue in these schools, but because normal linguistic and cultural transmission between the generations was disrupted. The entire community was adversely affected by the near-total separation of the family unit, which was maintained except for the few weeks each year that children were returned to their families. Elders and children lost the ability to communicate with one another. With this linguistic loss went the loss of songs, games, stories, and ceremonies—in short, a loss of community.

The last 50 years have seen a steady decline in the numbers of Dene Suline at Cold Lake able to fully communicate in their heritage language. A 1998 survey carried out in accordance with the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Registration System identified 285 fluent or conversant speakers of Dene Suline out of an official band membership of 1,908 (First Nations of Alberta, 1998). Thus, less than 15% of all band members speak an Aboriginal language to some degree of competency (a small proportion of the band population is Cree).

For reasons of history and circumstance, this band is the most southern of all Dene Suline-speaking communities in Canada and is geographically isolated from other Dene Suline speech communities. Consequently, the dialect spoken at Cold Lake is particularly conservative and rich in phonological and lexical contrasts that have been lost in more northern dialects. Indeed, many Cold Lake Dene regard their dialect with pride as the "purest" form of Dene Suline.

At this point in time, the Dene Suline language situation at Cold Lake is critical. A 1990 report for the House of Commons by the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs placed Chipewyan as a whole on the endangered list, one of only two Athapaskan languages in Canada, along with Carrier (spoken in British Columbia), not to be deemed on the verge of extinction (Government of Canada, 1990). Indeed, only three Aboriginal languages in Canada were given excellent chances of survival—Cree, Ojibwa (both Algonquian languages), and Inuktitut (of the Eskimo-Aleut family)—unless an aggressive intervention in the form of indigenous language and literacy policy, planning, and program development is instituted and supported. Language planning at the community level is essential if these languages are to survive (Blair, 1997, Fettes, 1992).

Without such measures, the Dene Suline language and the distinctive dialect spoken at Cold Lake will be nearly extinct within a few decades. A way of speaking, a way of thinking, and a way of life will be lost forever. The people will be left with no connection to their past and no special connection to each other—creating the conditions for individual and social breakdown, as is already attested on this and other reserves across Canada. Knowing this, the Cold Lake community is struggling to reverse decades of language loss and systematic desecration of their culture. Forced dislocation from their traditional hunting grounds was terrible enough, but this exile was compounded by the removal of several generations of children from their families during their formative years. These children were deprived of their linguistic and cultural heritage at the same time they were being raised in artificial and frequently abusive environments. Many grew up knowing neither how to be a parent nor how to be a Dene. These individuals, now adults encompassing the majority of Dene aged 45-65, represent the broken link between still-fluent speakers (in their 60s and older) and those who are essentially monolingual in English (aged 40 and younger) on and around the Cold Lake reserve.

Valerie Wood, Daghida project co-ordinator from CLFN, describes her family as a case example to demonstrate the nature and extent of this loss:

> I am the youngest member of my family who can still carry on a conversation in Dene, and I am 45 years old, born in 1955. I have six older and two younger siblings, all of whom were born between 1940 and 1960. All of my older siblings still speak Dene. My younger siblings have a good deal of comprehension and can speak some basic words and phrases, but they struggle with pronunciation and probably would make grammatical errors. My vocabulary likely reflects that of a 12-year-old because that was the age when I left the community to

> attend high school in the nearby town. Prior to that, I attended school on the reserve where I often engaged in speaking Dene with my peers on the playground. There were no in-school programs at that time, and Dene was passed down through oral tradition. My younger siblings attended upper elementary in town because motorized school bus travel was available by that time. Before that we were "bussed" to school by horse-drawn wagons. The introduction of television also had a significant impact on Dene language in the Cold Lake community. Many of these changes took place in the late '60s and early '70s.

Valerie went on to pursue a university degree; she took courses in linguistics and has participated with members of her family in field research with Dr. Sally Rice from the University of Alberta. This research relationship spawned the Daghida Project.

The Daghida Project

The Daghida Project is a three year enterprise funded through a Community-University Research Alliance (CURA) grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the University of Alberta. The project goal of linguistic and cultural restoration is captured in the Dene word daghida—a term coined by Valerie Wood that proclaims "we are alive." The overall project includes three major components: (a) sociolinguistic, linguistic, and psycholinguistic research; (b) language retention and language education efforts; and (c) cultural preservation and revival.

As a project team, we have begun to address all three components simultaneously as we examine current policy, assess language loss, document speech, inquire into Dene language acquisition, collect and develop language teaching resources, expand Dene language teacher education opportunities, record traditional and cultural knowledge, and archive the community's historical documents.

The complexities of language loss and revitalization efforts necessitate an overall comprehensive language plan. The conceptual framework for language planning outlined by Fishman (1991, 1994), Haugen (1985), and Ruiz (1984, 1988, 1990, 1994) forms the foundation for the first two components of our project. This language planning model outlines essential areas of work. The status-planning component deals with the value and role of language, the existing use of the language, and the goals for its use in both the long term and the short term. The corpus-planning component deals more specifically with the language itself and the details of how to build, rejuvenate, and record the language. The community's goals for their language and literacy form the basis for implementing programs and developing materials to support language revitalization. In order for a language plan to be effective, one aspect cannot take place without the other; in fact, they need to happen simultaneously. A good language plan also includes a schedule, a system of implementation, and a way to evaluate

what is happening. This planning is ongoing, and some components are more clearly defined at this time than others are.

Sociolinguistic, linguistic, and psycholinguistic research. Without a clear picture of the speech community at Cold Lake First Nations, it is difficult to plan for language revitalization. In order to construct a language profile of this community, we are developing a language use interview survey scheduled to be administered in homes throughout the reserve during the fall of 2000. This sociolinguistic survey will address not only the current language use in the community, but also the attitudes and level of commitment of community members toward language revitalization. The analysis of these data will provide a framework for the status-planning component of the project.

On the corpus side of language planning, codification and elaboration of the language are critical, and the Daghida Project provides an excellent opportunity to investigate and document this indigenous language and its speakers on many levels at once. Naturally, there is a critical need to collect basic linguistic information about the language and to analyze it in the form of a grammar and a dictionary. Such collection will involve field recordings and transcriptions and also archive quality recordings of the most fluent speakers engaged in both storytelling and conversation. Our chief aim is to produce materials for pedagogical and linguistic audiences. That is, we need materials that have a practical learner application as well as materials about the language that can be used by linguists interested in comparative aspects of this Athapaskan language. Because much of the basic language data that we will record from Elders will be comprised of traditional stories and legends, family narratives, and community histories, all of which have deep cultural significance for the Dene Nation as a whole, we hope to convert much of this linguistic raw material into the seeds of a Dene literature for use by current and future speakers.

We also envision a multi-tiered lexicon project, the purpose of which will be to produce a bilingual dictionary (Dene to English and English to Dene) containing dialectal information (there are two major dialects—the so-called "t" and "k" dialects) as well as forms that vary across generations. We also anticipate an entire lexicalization component. Its objective would be the coining and adoption of new Dene terms for novel or introduced concepts. Creating new terms in the language is critical if the language is to be relevant in modern society, and it is essential if primary and secondary educational materials are to be developed in the Dene language and used in bilingual classes. But in order for any "invented" lexicalizations to stand a chance of acceptance, we need to determine the dominant lexicalization patterns in the language so that any coined terms will seem congruent with existing ones and thus be more likely to be adopted by today's speakers.

Existing grammatical materials for Dene are scant and relatively incomplete. Currently, there is no published comprehensive grammar of the language for either classroom or scholarly use. At the very least, we plan to write a university level Dene language textbook. Such grammatical materials may prove useful for teaching adults on the reserve as well. It is our intention, too, to develop

a Dene language Web site where speakers and scholars can find language materials such as a dictionary, a grammatical sketch, and sample Dene texts in visual and audio format.

Because the language is endangered, language acquisition (in both a first and second language context) is a dominant concern. Relatively little is known about children's acquisition of Dene either traditionally or in more contemporary situations. Thus, many questions need to be researched: Do adult speakers make the same kinds of lexical and grammatical accommodations when speaking to infants as English speakers do in middle-class households in North America (which is the context from which most of our knowledge about child-directed speech has been collected)? Do such models extend to this cross-cultural context? Moreover, what, typically, are the first lexical or grammatical categories to arise in Dene children's speech? With respect to adults or older children learning Dene as a second language, do either the structure of the language or certain cultural practices suggest particular teaching methods? Might we need to reformulate teaching goals or materials to fit this language and its speakers?

The opposite side of acquisition is attrition. As is the case in most indigenous societies worldwide, the strongest speakers are the Elders, and, more likely than not, their language differs greatly from that of the generation behind them. At Cold Lake First Nations, the Dene spoken by speakers in their mid-fifties and younger is considerably weaker than that of older speakers. Younger speakers lack many of the grammatical contrasts present in the Elders' speech (for example, they cannot produce a full verb paradigm or they do not know the full range of classificatory verb stems), and their vocabularies are somewhat compromised. At present, we lack any evidence except anecdotal reports as to how and to what degree the different generations vary in their active and passive knowledge of Dene. Two morphological studies are currently underway that attempt to investigate speaker awareness of the morphological structure of the language. Two groups of speakers are being tested in these studies—40-60 year olds and speakers older than 60—in an attempt to discover which aspects of the language are fairly robust and "known" by all speakers and which aspects are the first to be lost by weaker speakers. This research is valuable both for language-specific reasons (results might enable us to target those aspects of the language that most need reinforcement in a teaching situation) and for universal ones. Comparative psycholinguistics, which studies language universals, is a relatively new field, and practically no research has been conducted on speakers of Amerindian languages. Psycholinguistic theories of how languages are represented and processed mentally are vulnerable because they are based only on speakers of English and highly related European languages. By bringing to the discussion psycholinguistic data from speakers of North American Aboriginal languages, which differ structurally in major ways from European ones, it is hoped that we can gain a better idea of the universal and the language-particular aspects of natural language processing.

A related cross-cultural study planned by participants in the Daghida Project involves the recording and analysis of gesture use by both children and adult

speakers of Dene. McNeil (1992, 1997) and others have claimed that the gestures accompanying speech, in both shape and timing, are linked to lexico-grammatical structure. Again, gesture data have been collected from a variety of European languages, but nothing is known about gesture use by speakers of languages that are genetically and structurally unrelated, such as the Athapaskan languages. The Daghida Project, based as it is on a partnership between a First Nations community and a university research community, offers a rare opportunity to record a language in use and to study the prosodic and gestural behaviours of its speakers, their introspective awareness about the language, and their response patterns to a number of standard psycholinguistic tests such as semantic priming, lexical decision, or sentence processing tasks. Through this research, we hope to gather basic data that will add to the knowledge about language use in general.

Language retention and language education efforts. Ongoing or proposed project activities in the Cold Lake First Nations community in terms of Dene language retention and language education include the establishment of an Elders' advisory group, an adult Dene language and literacy class, Dene language festivals, cultural and linguistic immersion camps, an immersion day-care or Head Start program, and school age curriculum development as well as teacher education and language education at the post secondary level. The Elders' advisory group is being established to ensure the preservation and protection of the culture and language in its entirety. It is their responsibility to approve of and advise on project activities such as the documentation of the language and to provide guidelines for cultural renewal efforts. They are an essential language resource for the community, and their role in all language retention activities is critical if this language is to be saved.

Many young parents on the CLFN reserve understand very little Dene and do not speak, read, or write the language. Consequently, they are ill equipped to transmit the language to their children. Because, as parents, this generation is essential to language transmission (and thus revitalization), we felt the need to work with them from the outset. In response to this need, we established weekly adult language classes. These classes are offered at various times throughout the week to ensure that there is sufficient opportunity for everyone interested to attend. The primary goal of these classes is to promote oral Dene language use. Efforts are therefore aimed at teaching participants useful conversation skills and at creating an environment that encourages and supports Dene language practice. A literacy component will be added eventually as a practical orthography becomes standardized.

Another forum for adult language and literacy development is the Dene Language Café, where any interested community members can come to share a meal and converse in Dene. This is a weekly informal event that fosters recognition of the importance of the language for everyday use.

We have also planned a language festival to be held on the reserve. This event is meant to foster positive attitudes toward Dene language and culture at all ages. This will be a day during which the school children and parents join

elder community members in a range of language games and activities. A scavenger hunt in Dene and traditional activities like making bannock will be included. A community pledge board will be set up at this event, and community members will be asked to make a personal commitment to use the Dene Suline language over the year ahead. These pledges could include promises to speak to a grandchild regularly in Dene or to answer the telephone at home or at work in Dene.

A series of culture and language immersion camps have been planned that will increase cultural awareness. These will be scheduled at different times throughout the school term in accordance with the appropriate season for various cultural activities. The camps will involve Elders, adults, adolescents, children, and all interested members of the community, as well as Dene speakers from other Dene communities. Small groups will engage in traditional activities such as hunting and fishing, hide preparation, beadwork, cooking, berry picking, and so forth using the Dene language. Initially, these camps will be weekend affairs, but ultimately a two-week summer camp or full summer camp is envisioned.

One of our future goals is to establish a Dene immersion day-care at Cold Lake. Because of the limited number of Dene speakers trained in Early Childhood Education, this type of program will likely remain a long-term goal for some time. However, an Aboriginal Head Start program has recently opened, and we will be integrating some Dene language programming into their daily activities.

The LeGoff School (K-8) at CLFN is the only school in Western Canada that is still administered by the Department of Indian Affairs. The federal, rather than local, control of the school may explain the lack of cultural programming currently being offered to students. At present, each grade receives only 80 minutes of Dene language instruction per week, and only one Dene language teacher, John Janvier, is responsible for all grades. John does not have his provincial teacher certification, and he has very few second language resources to employ in his classroom. The Daghida project team is working directly with him to acquire curriculum materials and resources from other Dene communities in Western and Northern Canada. The Dene Ke curriculum from the Northwest Territories as well as supplementary materials, posters, children's story books, audio tapes, and CDs from Saskatchewan have been collected and are now available for his use while we work toward the development of local material.

Despite their limited resources, the LeGoff School has initiated some unique programs that promote First Nations languages. For example, in the mid 1990s, they started an annual Native Speech Contest. The contest is now held on a rotating basis among neighbouring Cree and Dene reserves in the Treaty Six area of Alberta. For this event, the children recite a short speech, which they have written, in their Aboriginal language. They are then judged by a panel of Cree and Dene speakers. For the past two years, the children from Cold Lake First Nations have won this contest and proudly brought the trophy home to the LeGoff School. Although the speeches are rehearsed, the speech contest has

contributed to elevating the status of First Nations languages both on this reserve and on neighbouring ones.

In addition to language education at the community level, the Daghida Project is involved in language education at the university level. The University of Alberta is currently developing an introductory Dene Suline class to offer on campus in 2001-2002. This will be a first time offering at the University of Alberta and will draw both fluent and non-fluent speakers from the university community.

Recognizing the need to develop and support human resources, the project supports its participants in professional development opportunities. For example, because the need for trained Dene teachers is great in Alberta, during the summer of 2000 the project funded one individual who attended the American Indian Languages Development Institute (AILDI) based at the University of Arizona in Tucson. We have also collaborated with a committee of Aboriginal language teachers, teacher educators, and linguists from Alberta and Saskatchewan to develop the Canadian Indigenous Languages and Literacy Development Institute (CILLDI). Similar to AILDI, this Canadian summer institute will provide both graduate and undergraduate courses for teachers and researchers working toward language preservation. Also in the summer of 2000, the first Institute was held on the Onion Lake reserve in Saskatchewan, hosting a total immersion Cree class for senior undergraduates, Cree language teachers, and graduate students from both the University of Alberta and the University of Saskatchewan. For the summer of 2001, CILLDI will expand offerings to include courses in Dene, Cree, Linguistics, and Aboriginal languages curriculum and pedagogy.

Cultural preservation and revival. The third component of the project consists of a variety of long-range activities to be carried out in different locations, including the Dene Suline Koe (language centre) at Cold Lake First Nations and a proposed Dene Suline Interpretive Centre at K'ai Hochila ("Willow Point"). There is an urgent need to collect archive-quality materials from highly proficient Native speakers such as personal narratives, traditional stories, genealogies, knowledge about places and traditional place names, community histories, songs, as well as accounts of traditional skills such as trapping, fishing, tanning, and crafts. This cultural knowledge will be recorded, videotaped, and transcribed, and these materials will be archived in analog or digital format, as appropriate, for use in the schools, for multimedia display at a proposed interpretive centre, for public broadcast via radio or TV, and for internet transmission via a community Web site. Community youth and young adults are seen as critically instrumental in the production and distribution of these materials, as well as in the maintenance of a Cold Lake Dene Web site

The archiving of materials for the project will be done in conjunction with the Learning Systems Enterprises at the University of Alberta, who will conduct museum training at Cold Lake First Nations through their certificate program in the planning, production, and self-management of museums. Learning Systems will also assist in the development of the interpretive centre.

During the summer of 2000, the Cold Lake First Nations hosted the Dene Suline Gathering. This is an annual reunion of northern and western Dene, an

opportunity for young and old to come together for a few days of socializing, story-telling, dancing, banqueting, and displaying of crafts, much of which usually takes place in Dene Suline. It is also an opportunity for the Dene Suline people from across the western provinces and territories to discuss issues of common concern including the loss of language and culture. Language activists from these provinces and from the territories met at this annual event to share resources and strategies for language revitalization efforts.

Summary and Conclusion

The Daghida Project is a unique language renewal partnership incorporating linguistic, educational, and cultural components. It is our hope that it will provide a model that will be useful to other communities. This collaborative endeavour has united the community of Cold Lake First Nations and the University of Alberta in comprehensive and ongoing linguistic and cultural revitalization efforts and provides both a breadth and depth of expertise between the two communities.

Note

[1]Previously, these people were known as Chipewyan. This term is of Cree origin and is increasingly disfavoured as a referent of ethnicity in the Prairie Provinces. In this paper, Dene or Dene Suline will identify the people who belong to the speech community associated with this indigenous tongue.

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The Jicarilla Apache Language Summer Day Camp

Maureen Olson

The Jicarilla Apache Language Summer Day Camp (JALSDC) was created to meet the needs of young Jicarilla Apache language speakers at the Dulce Elementary School (DES). At the school, students were learning vocabulary, but they were not gaining the ability to speak the Jicarilla Apache language. Combining the language immersion teaching model with a camping experience seemed like a wonderful way to improve fluency.

A fluent Jicarilla speaker, I learned to speak, read, and write English in Kindergarten. I received a BA in Elementary Education from Fort Lewis College in Durango, Colorado in 1985. In 1994, I obtained an MA in Education from the University of New Mexico (UNM) in Albuquerque, and in 1998, I received an Educational Administration license from UNM.

Presently, I teach the Jicarilla Apache language and co-ordinate the Bilingual Multicultural Program (BMP) at Dulce Elementary School. The BMP program is funded, evaluated, and assessed by the New Mexico State Department of Education. A majority of the students in the program know some Jicarilla Apache words; however, not one has the ability to converse in the Jicarilla Apache language. In addition to teaching the indigenous language, the program emphasizes raising the self-esteem and keeping the affective filter lowered for the DES students.

JALSDC Description

Initially, the camp targeted boys and girls between the ages of 8 and 11. The camp day began at 8:00 a.m. and ended at 4:00 p.m. The maximum number of campers accommodated during each session was 24. Fluent adult Jicarilla Apache speakers were recruited from various community departments, and volunteers were also found to show and demonstrate different arts and animals. My role in the camp was as camp director.

The four-day sessions were not scheduled according to fixed time increments. Instead, a range of activities was planned for each day. This allowed for flexibility when volunteer presenters were late or did not show. Thanks to the flexible schedule, many activities were completed. A downpour on Thursday afternoon of the second session was the exception. The flannel leather bags planned for that afternoon were sewn Friday morning.

A typical day began with a 220-yard jog or walk around a dirt road followed by breakfast. The day's schedule was reviewed, and a morning activity was completed before lunch preparations began. After lunch, campers helped with the clean up. After a short free time period, the afternoon activities began. Presentations and demonstrations were mostly given in English.

Several strategies were employed to allow for language input. For example, the five counsellors who were fluent Jicarilla Apache speakers were given questions to wear around their necks written in Jicarilla Apache. They would ask the campers the same question whenever they had an opportunity. Also,

campers introduced themselves in Jicarilla. Non-Jicarilla speaking camp counsellors modelled the words the campers were learning, and fluent Jicarilla speakers gave simple commands and asked simple questions in Jicarilla Apache.

Money for the camp was obtained from the Johnson O'Malley funds. A proposal was approved to provide two meals per day for 15 children and to provide art supplies for the whole camp. Utensils, pots, and pans belonging to the Jicarilla Apache Culture Center were borrowed for the duration of the camp. Firewood, water, and tepee set up were provided by the Jicarilla Apache Tribal Service Department, which also gave assistance.

A resolution was written giving permission to conduct the language camp with Jicarilla resources and assistance. Camp counsellors were recruited from Jicarilla Apache Tribal Departments. The Head Start bus, bus driver, and a Head Start teacher also gave assistance. Walking field trips to culturally relevant Jicarilla Apache Tribal Departments were also taken. For example, the campers visited Game and Fish, Museum and Arts and Crafts, and the Culture Center.

The exit test was conducted in Jicarilla. It was a simple recall of several items found in camp. The results indicated that those students who had some Jicarilla Apache spoken in the home were able to recall the most items. Students who participated in the Bilingual Multicultural Program at DES during the year were at different levels of word recall. Those who remembered the fewest words had the least amount of exposure to the Jicarilla Apache language.

JALSDC Analysis

Several problems arose during the camp, which will be addressed more completely at the year 2000 camp session. Without training, the counsellors did not fully understand their roles. They spoke English to the campers even when they could have used the Jicarilla Apache language to give comprehensible input to keep up language repetition. Some linguistic concepts they tried to teach were not easily grasped by novice speakers. Also, the camp counsellors did not help compose the list of vocabulary words that were to be taught.

There were some serendipitous highlights. The JALSDC sessions were held at the community fair grounds, which meant that grassy fields and a rodeo arena with a grand stand were available for free time playing areas. An unplanned activity, which quickly became a favourite among both boys and girls, was learning to swing and hit a golf ball. Many of the boys, sweating heavily, remained out in the hot sun hitting golf balls. Campers who arrived as quiet young people looking for a place to sit left with energy to spare and a suntan.

JALSDC Future Camps

Arranging a time and place for collaborative meetings that address how best to provide a true immersion environment may clear up the confusion experienced by Jicarilla Apache speaking camp counsellors. Providing instruction and training to camp counsellors and presenters about language acquisition and second language learning will be helpful.

The adults providing language input became frustrated with the slow progress of the campers, and many did not persevere. The problem may have been that the counsellors' expectations were too high. Also, some of the Jicarilla-speaking presenters felt that they were talking to themselves during their presentations because the campers did not understand much Jicarilla.

Male camp counsellors will be recruited for future language camps because all the camp counsellors were women, although some presenters were men. Reviving the Jicarilla Apache language is a task for the entire community and not a gender-exclusive endeavour.

Report on the Workshop "World of Inuktitut"

Janet McGrath

The workshop "World of Inuktitut" began with a brief overview of the Inuktitut language. While the true origin of Inuktitut is a matter of controversy, linguists believe the language belongs in the Finno-Ugric language. This categorization ties Inuktitut to Hungarian and Finnish, among other languages. The Finno-Ugric language family developed West of Bajkal Lake in Siberia. It is believed that the ancestors of the Inuit migrated across the Bering Strait land bridge 12,000 years ago.

Inuktitut consists of two main branches: Yup'ik and Inupik. Yup'ik is spoken along the eastern tip of Siberia, on St. Lawrence Island, and in southern Alaska. "Inupik" is a term coined by linguists to describe all other dialects throughout northern Alaska, Canada, and Greenland. Yup'ik and Inupik languages are believed to have split 2,000 years ago and to have developed independently. Although there are words that are similar between the two groups, the level of mutual intelligibility is low. Within the Inupik group, there are dialects that seem quite different. However, on closer examination, it is clear that there is a shared structure and vocabulary among the dialects.

After an overview of the structure and vocabulary of Inuktitut, participants shared their thoughts on the question: How does one teach high context communication skills to second language learners of Inuktitut? First, let's look at what "high context communication" is. In *Beyond Culture*, Edward T. Hall describes cultures as either low context or high context. In low context cultures, grammatical intricacies and vocabulary convey most of a verbal communication's meaning. High context cultures, however, rely more on context than spoken words to convey the actual meaning of a communication. Thus, a high context language is suited to people highly capable of observing and interpreting their environment. In high context cultures, language confirms what is understood from the circumstances, but words are not relied on for the essential communication. Typically, European and Slavic cultures (e.g., British, German, and Russian) are low context. Many indigenous cultures are considered high context.

When teaching Inuktitut to students from a low context culture, a dilemma inevitably arises in the first class. For example, English first language speakers are eager to learn "some basics" like how to say "hello." It is a low context cultural impulse to reach out verbally in order to make contact. In Inuktitut, however, it is not impolite to be silent upon first contact, allowing the other to observe and to get a feel for the "context" or situation. Body language and facial expressions are far more important than saying hello. In fact, there is only one dialect (in over 20) with a word for hello (*Ai* or *Ainngai* in Nunavik, South Baffin). So the real issue in the above question is, how can culture be effectively transmitted along with knowledge of the language in order to create true competency in communicating?

The following notes are from the brainstorming sheets of workshop participants. Although most ideas refer to second language learning in general, some interesting comments were made on the specific topic of "transmitting culture."

- Give students experiences: go to the park, do drama, make bannock, bring fish in and eat them.
- Listen to tapes or radio in the language to gain a feel for the flow and the sounds of the language. Allow it to become familiar.
- Engage in the music, literature, poetry, and drama of the culture.
- Practice a lot. Try to say the words out loud and in your head.
- Use games.
- Learn from small children. Be ready to mimic and play with words like they do. Become child-like.
- Keep diaries of experiences. Write in your mother tongue at first and then some in Inuktitut. The teacher can check the notes from time to time. Comment on ideas, not language. Stories can be shared with future students.
- Gather wisdom of how others accomplished fluency. Use them as role models for learners.
- Answer the question of why you are learning Inuktitut. How do you see yourself in the context of Inuit society? Working? Travelling? Married?
- Are you ready for the "transforming experience" of language learning? Do you know you are entering a new world? What are you prepared to give up to enter this world?

In the Japanese language program at York University, instruction is divided equally between language and culture. For example, in learning to name the different parts of a Japanese house, the students first examine the cultural uses of space. Only after use of and relation to space are explored from a Japanese point of view are the names for the spaces given in Japanese. With this teaching method, fewer words are introduced, but students are more able to communicate intelligibly with those in Japanese society. The students demonstrate cultural awareness, which opens more doors for language learning opportunities.

When teaching culture, a program should be set up to teach students things they never had to observe before. This way, awareness is fostered. Half of the success of language learning depends on the learner, but the other half depends on the society that uses the language. How does the society receive learners? What training in a language program can make that entry smoother for students?

The general discussion that followed the brainstorming session concluded that teaching culture is as important as teaching language in language programs. Learners must develop a new worldview in accordance with the new language. Any effective program must have culture built into the curriculum. The cultural components should reflect the values of that society so the language learner has the opportunity to experience these values in contrast to his or her own society's values. The language teacher should also help students to appreciate how the cultural values and worldview are reflected in the language. This would encourage students to make their own observations of the cultural worldview and to accept this new language on its own terms rather than trying to make it fit what they already know of language through their mother tongue.

Awakening the Languages
Challenges of Enduring Language Programs: Field reports from 15 Programs from Arizona, New Mexico and Oklahoma

Mary S. Linn, Tessie Naranjo, Sheilah Nicholas, Inée Slaughter,
Akira Yamamoto, Ofelia Zepeda

Part I: Settings for the Indigenous Language Institute (ILI)

People's attitudes toward languages often have a stronger impact on the future of those languages than official language policies. Native American languages in North America are no exception. They have been negatively affected by the sense of "worthlessness" that the language communities have developed since the onslaught of European people. Various pressures were placed on Native American language communities from outside. Diseases unknown to Native Americans were introduced, and they spread rapidly among them. Wars with the invaders and amongst each other owing to rapidly changing alliances wiped out large segments of the population. Languages, too, faced imminent decline. The spread of Europeans into Native American territories forced the relocation of indigenous populations to unfamiliar regions, often uninhabitable by European standards. Different Native American groups, who were all autonomous sovereign nations, were sometimes forced to live in the same region. This would sometimes cause languages to shift with the new contacts, or, more radically, one language would be subsumed by dominance or by intermarriages within a larger group. Later still, forceful recruitment of children was practiced in the name of education—they were removed to boarding schools, which were often located far from their home communities. Christianization was equated with "civilizing" the savage. Such practice was forcefully stated by J.D.C. Atkins, Commissioner of Indian affairs from 1885 to 1888: "The instruction of the Indians in the vernacular is not only of no use to them, but is detrimental to the cause of their education and civilization and no school will be permitted on the reservation in which the English language is not exclusively taught" (1887, pp. xxi-xxiii).

Issues of language choice, of majority and minority conflicts, of identity crises, and of numerous other concerns result when two or more cultures come into contact. This is especially true when the contact situation is unbalanced—one is more powerful politically, militarily, economically, and/or demographically. This is also true when the contact situation is a relatively long lasting one. Native American peoples have had to face the Europeans permanently in this power-unbalanced encounter situation. Children were educated in boarding schools where the language of instruction and of communication was English. People only in their forties still remember their boarding school days when one word of their ancestral language resulted in their mouth being rinsed with soap in order to wash out their "bad" language. When they became parents, they certainly did not want their children to go through the same hardship. So they

encouraged their children to learn English, not their ancestral languages. What a powerful and effective method of replacing ancestral languages with English this was (Yamamoto & Zepeda, in press)!

Even today, we continue to see the same kinds of attitudes toward Native American peoples and their languages as in the 1800s. For example, an argument not unlike that of J.D.C. Atkins' has been used to establish "English As the Official Language" policy. Twenty-four states have already passed such legislation, the earliest being Louisiana in 1811. Four states have English Plus legislation, which states that English must be learned in addition to one's heritage language. Also, eight states have debated Official English legislation since 1999. This means, 74% of the states are participating in some form of legislation that places English above a person's Native or ancestral language. In the 2000 debate in Oklahoma, initiative supporters said that Official English legislation should establish English as "the authoritative language and ban state money from being spent on translations for public documents or providing services in a different language" (Tulsa World, June 18, 2000). Clearly, the policies and debates on the state level and at the national level continue to promote the sense of "worthlessness" placed on Native ways by the colonizers (Yamamoto & Zepeda, in press).

Despite history and legislation, attitudes concerning the worthiness of language have been on the rise. The late 1980s saw the mobilization of Native American educators, leaders, and academic professionals, and a new linguistic culture emerged. Specifically, at the 1987 Native American Language Issues Conference in Tempe, Arizona, conference participants formulated a resolution proclaiming the language rights of Native Americans. That resolution found its way to Senator Inouye, who was heading the Special Committee on Indian Affairs. Eventually, the resolution turned into the Native American Languages Act (Public Law 101-477) on October 30, 1990, signed by President Bush. What is important here is that Native American languages were officially recognized as vital to Native Americans. Among other statements, Section 102 of the Native American Languages Act of 1990 reads:

> (3) the traditional languages of Native Americans are an integral part of their cultures and identities and form the basic medium for the transmission, and thus survival, of Native American cultures, literatures, histories, religions, political institutions, and values;
> (9) languages are the means of communication for the full range of human experiences and are critical to the survival of cultural and political integrity of any people.

This Public Law was followed by another Native American Languages Act in 1992 (Public Law 102-524) that authorized two million dollars for the fiscal year 1993 to be spent on community based language programs. These community based projects may be large in scope or small, including the development of literature and teaching materials, teacher training, bringing speakers and non-speakers together, and recording oral history and stories, among others. On March

25, 1994, the Administration for Native Americans announced the availability of one million dollars for NALA projects. The amount of funding gradually increased to the original proposal of two million dollars, and many Native language communities have taken advantage of this opportunity.

Part II: Indigenous Language Institute

The Indigenous Language Institute (ILI, Inée Yang Slaughter, Executive Director) was founded as IPOLA (Institute for the Preservation of the Original Languages of the Americas) in 1992 in response to the urgent needs of Native American communities that were facing imminent danger of losing their languages and were attempting to combat language decline. ILI's mission is to collaborate with indigenous language communities to reverse language shift. Specifically, it focuses on three major areas:

1. Facilitation of community-based language programs. When community members become aware of their endangered language situation, they may want to design a language program to revitalize their language. When such a situation arises, ILI should be able to provide financial assistance. ILI needs to be able to provide information on how to document a language, on how to plan a language revitalization program, on what programs have been effective in what communities, on how to train speakers to be teachers, on what type of language curriculum works for what kinds of learners, and on preparing effective language materials.

2. Increasing public awareness of language endangerment in Indigenous language communities. ILI will continue to appeal to the general public and to make known the severity of language decline in indigenous communities through campaigns and educational materials. ILI will mobilize educators, linguists, anthropologists, community leaders, and policy makers to convey a clear message to the public that the loss of indigenous languages means the disintegration of cultures and eventual death. This has been stated so precisely by the Hawai'ian Immersion Program: "If you want to kill a people, take away their language." We must make sure that this will never happen.

3. Development of a National Info-net Centre for Indigenous Language Programs. In order for ILI, or any other group, to be able to function effectively as a collaborator in community-based language programs or as a language rights activist educating the general public, it must have a wealth of knowledge on what works and what does not work in the (re)vitalization of languages. We need to have a place where language educators can turn in order to get information on: (a) documentation (e.g., how to document a language where there may be only a handful of speakers left, and who can work with them to document them); (b) analyses and descriptions of languages (e.g., for the purpose of creating a new generation of speakers, what materials need to be prepared, in what order, in what form); (c) the production of materials (e.g., in what forms should the material be produced); (d) successful language (re)vitalization programs (e.g., what programs have been effective and under what conditions, what informa-

tion is available on it, is it replicable); and (e) the availability, in general, of any professional assistance (e.g., linguists, anthropologists, educators, computer technicians, educational technologists, writers, etc.) and of any technical assistance.

In March 1997, ILI invited about 40 Native American educators, language specialists, and linguists for an intensive 3-day meeting. The purpose of the symposium was to review the indigenous language situations in the United States, to discover what has been done to address language endangerment, to debate what needs to be done about reversing language shift, and to formulate an institution where all the necessary work can be performed for the vitalization and revitalization of indigenous languages. The symposium attendants drew up a blueprint for the Indigenous Language Institute (ILI). Among the major tasks of the ILI is the item (d) above: to provide information on successful language (re)vitalization programs. The institute should be able to provide information services to meet the needs of individuals, programs, and communities. Information needs to be gathered on the types of programs being practiced, what strategies work, what must be done to make a language program effective in achieving its goals, and what challenges there are for establishing an effective community language program and what possible answers may be there to address those challenges.

In order meet this goal, the institute must build a solid database on various language programs around the nation and, eventually, the American continent, and it must network a wide range of language research, language teaching, language archive, and funding sources. In addition, "connectedness" should provide the institute with the list of consultants and specialists who can work with those who are in need of technical assistance. The current project is a direct response to these urgent needs in fulfilment of the ILI goals.

Part III: The ILI Language Programs Project

Although many successful language programs of various kinds have been reported at conferences, oftentimes we do not hear about the struggles endured during the process of creating, maintaining, and enhancing programs. We do not have sufficient information on their problems and on how they resolved them. It is usually the case that new programs go through the same problems as already established ones; that is, new programs reinvent the wheel. In addition, at many language maintenance conferences, the need for a central information centre where community language workers can get information about programs and contact people is restated. ILI has received numerous phone calls and inquiries about model programs, potential difficulties, and how to resolve problems. These requests motivated us to develop a project that would make intensive field visits to selected programs. This project is outlined here, and the discussion includes our preliminary findings and a note about the future of the project.

Goal of Program Data Collection, Analysis, Compilation, & Dissemination

As stated above, the goal of the ILI language program project is to centralize crucial information on language programs so that indigenous communities can share and learn from each other in order to make their programs even more effective and to make the information available to those communities that are ready to begin their language programs.

Many communities are now looking for ways to revive, vitalize, revitalize, and stabilize their heritage languages. Many other communities have been operating many different types of language programs (e.g., family oral/literacy programs, pre-school and day-care total immersion programs, school-based immersion or heritage language as a second language programs, heritage language as an academic subject program, community-based heritage language immersion or as a second language programs for children, young adults, and/or adults, etc.). There is, however, no composite data on these different program types, on the different processes followed in establishing programs, on the problems and issues surrounding programs, on how programs are operated, on what needs may exist in programs, and, more important, on "how-to" methods.

Therefore, the purposes of this "program data collection" project are to gather information from as many different types of programs as possible, to analyze the projects in order to find some common methods and processes, to discover under what conditions programs are most effective, to look at problems and issues, and to create an organized data base. This project entails sending linguists and language educators into the field to visit a variety of language programs. The information gathered will then be disseminated to a wide range of communities and individuals who plan to create new programs.

Field Staff

The ILI Executive Committee conducted a careful search for language specialists, linguists, and educators who could carry out such field inquiries. Three individuals were hired. Each has experience working with Native American peoples, and the Committee feels they are flexible and sensitive to the needs of language communities and efficient in processing field data. Tessie Naranjo (Santa Clara Pueblo) is a Native speaker of the Tewa language and a member of the Board of ILI. Sheilah Nichols (Hopi) is a doctoral student in the American Indian Studies at the University of Arizona. Mary Linn has been working with the Euchee people of Oklahoma since 1996 and has been active in language maintenance and revitalization through the Oklahoma Native Languages Association since its beginning in 1997. She is a Ph.D. candidate in linguistics at the University of Kansas. The three field linguists work closely with Ms. Inée Slaughter of ILI, Dr. Ofelia Zepeda (Tohonno O'odham) at the University of Arizona, and Dr. Akira Yamamoto at the University of Kansas.

Preparation

The first task was to decide which programs to visit. Although our choices are continually updated and expanded, in the first year, we concentrated on ar-

eas familiar to us: Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma. As the program continues, we will look at existing language programs that the ANA has funded and at the Endangered Language Fund (ELF) supported programs and projects, and we will gather information from more individually-based "volunteer" work (e.g., Emory Sekaquaptewa, a Hopi linguist at the University of Arizona, University of Kansas team, etc.).

Because of our limited resources, we are not able to visit every program. We have chosen to visit a variety of programs in order to get an overview of the types of programs that communities are implementing, the problems that each type is faced with, and how they overcome these problems. So, for example, there are many language programs in Oklahoma, and five have been visited so far. They include programs in smaller tribes (2,000 people) and in larger tribes (10,000 plus), community-based and tribally sponsored programs, adult classes, Master-Apprentice programs, and materials development programs. Still, we have missed some very good programs.

Once a program has been identified as a potential site to visit, Tessie Naranjo, the co-ordinator of this project, contacts the appropriate person in charge and asks them if they would like to participate in the ILI project. When a positive response is received, the field linguist then makes the arrangements for the visitation date. Each visit includes going to the class or project in addition to taking time to talk with the teachers, Elders, students, and others who may be in charge or active participants. The visit may take a day or close to a week depending on the scope of the language activities in each community.

The Visit

Once in the community, the field linguists observe the classes and the program activities. In some cases, they are asked to participate as a student or trainee. Through observation and through direct conversations with the individuals in the programs, the field linguists gather the following information:

Community profile.

- Location
- Total population
- Estimated number of speakers
- Position of the language program in the community (tribal, grassroots, degree of community support—including financial support)

Language program profile.

(a) How the program was established: a brief history that includes a description of where it belongs (e.g., as a part of the tribal school, of the public school, of the continuing education, etc.) and who was instrumental in establishing it (e.g., a special office in the community such as the Language and Culture Department, Language Committee, volunteer/advocate group, church group, etc.). It is especially important for the field linguists to note the issues and problems faced while the program was being established and after the program had been

set up. They might ask the people what "advice" program coordinators might have for someone trying to create a new program:

- in selecting a type of the program
- in getting the leaders and community people involved in the process
- in selecting the program management staff
- in selecting the program teaching staff
- in preparing the program curriculum development
- in preparing the program materials development
- in documenting the language
- in interpreting the language data into teaching materials
- in recruiting learners
- in finding places for the program implementation
- in assessing the degree of participation by children and younger population
- in evaluating the impact of the program

(b) The goals of the program: including immediate or specific objectives. What is aimed at and when is it to be accomplished?

(c) How they are to be accomplished: for example, by teaching in a tribal school class, how often, how long for each session; by implementing a master-apprentice approach; etc. Who manages it: for example, a designated tribal office, the Bilingual Education Unit in the school district, etc. Include who finances it—by grant money from ANA, by the tribe, etc.

(d) Who are the teachers?: how teachers are selected, recruited, and trained.

(e) Who are the learners?: children, adults, families. How are they "recruited"?

(f) What materials are used?: including the process and personnel who prepare and produce language materials (documentation of language, grammar, dictionary, books, interactive materials, photo-books, language tapes, language cards, etc.).

(g) Are there language researchers separate in addition to teachers?: How are they recruited and trained? What do they do? Do those researchers participate in the language program? How do they contribute to the goal of the program?

(h) Are there curriculum and materials developers in addition to teachers?: If so, how are they recruited and trained?

Results of the program. How long has the program been running? How have the objectives been accomplished? What has been effective?

Needs of the program. What are the needs of the program? What would make the program even more effective and successful? The answers to these questions, we hope, will allow the field linguists to infer the problems the program may have encountered.

Sharing. Can the curricula, materials, or anything else be shared with other communities? Can ILI have a copy of relevant materials, and is it allowed to disseminate that information to inquirers or can inquirers contact the program? Who can be contacted and how?

After the visit is completed, the field linguists write up a report about the program. The report basically follows the outline above. A copy of the report is sent to the people in the program so that they may make suggestions and corrections. Once they have given their okay, the report becomes part of our growing bank of information on how the goals of language programs are achieved.

Preliminary Report on the Findings

What follows is a midyear report on the field research of the three linguists. Here, we will briefly describe characteristics of 15 programs in three regions: Oklahoma, Arizona, and New Mexico. Language situations in Arizona and New Mexico are yet to be synthesized. In this paper, we will provide an example of language situations in Oklahoma as described by Mary Linn.

The Language Situation: The Example of Oklahoma

With the exception of California, Oklahoma has the most diversity of Native languages and peoples in the United States. There are 40 distinct indigenous communities there, represented by federally recognized tribes, tribal towns, or bands and non-federally recognized tribes, towns, or bands within these larger entities. These 40 communities are as large as the Cherokee community with 210,000 people or as small as the Tonkawa, Modoc, or Fort Sill Apache communities with 200-300 people. Significantly, 40 communities represent 11 language families: Algonquian, Athapaskan, Caddoan, Iroquoian, Kiowa-Tanoan, Muskogean, Penutian, Siouan, Tonkawan, Uto-Aztecan, and Yuchean. The languages across these families can be as different as Chinese and English. They represent extreme cultural diversity as well. People were forcibly removed to Oklahoma (Indian Territory) from the south and southeast, the northeast and Great Lakes, the High Plains, the southern plains, and coastal California. They brought with them their distinct beliefs, customs, and languages.

It is useful to remember the language situation in North America. Michael Krauss (1998) of the University of Alaska has presented the following classification of the vitality of the 211 languages still spoken or remembered:

Class A: 32 languages (15%) spoken by all generations, including children—life expectancy: two generations without immediate intervention
Class B: 36 languages (17%) spoken only by the parental general and up—life expectancy: 50 years
Class C: 85 languages (40%) spoken only by the grandparental generation and up—life expectancy: 40 years
Class D: 58 languages (28%) spoken only by the very elderly, usually less than 10 people—life expectancy: 10 years

All of the Native languages in Oklahoma are threatened; most are severely endangered. Only one community, the Oklahoma Kickapoo, has children speaking the language on a day-to-day basis (Class A). Choctaw has a few children speaking the language and a majority of the parental generation still speaking

the language (Class B). This is the case in some increasingly isolated areas of Cherokee Nation, but it is mostly the grandparental generation that speaks Cherokee (Class C). The remaining communities have many fewer speakers, all elderly (Class C-D). And, tragically, 14 communities have no more speakers at all. A few of these, such as the Alabama, have no speakers in Oklahoma, although there are a few Alabama speakers in their reservations in East Texas and Louisiana. Given this scenario, the language situation in Oklahoma requires immediate attention.

To get a sense of the breadth of language diversity in Oklahoma and of the critical state of the languages, we have made the chart shown below. The languages are organized by family. After each language, the number of speakers is given. The numbers are from Yamamoto (1996), Mithun (2000), and Linn's personal communication with Native language teachers and Elders in Oklahoma.

Linguistic Families of Oklahoma (with Number of Speakers)

Algonquian		
Absentee Shawnee 200	Kickapoo 1,500	Ottawa 0
Citizen Band Potawatomie NA	East. Shawnee 0?	Sac & Fox 20
Miami 0	Cheyenne 100?	Loyal Shawnee 14
Delaware 1?	Peoria 0	Arapaho NA
Athapaskan		
Plains Apache 3	Fort Sill Apache NA	
Caddoan		
Caddo 25	Pawnee 20	Wichita 0
Iroquoian		
Cherokee 10,000	Wyandotte 0	Senca-Cayuga 0
Keetoowah (Cherokee)		
Kiowa-Tanoan		
Kiowa 300		
Uto-Aztecan		
Comanche 100		
Muskogean		
Choctaw 11,000	Seminole (see Creek)	Alabama 0
Chickasaw 1,000-	Thlopthlocco (see Creek)	Coushatta 0
Creek 5,000	Kialegee (see Creek)	
Siouan		
Iowa 0	Kaw 0	Osage 5
Otoe-Missouria 1?	Ponca 24	Quapaw 0
Yuchean		
Euchee 12		
Penutian		
Modoc 0		
Tonkawan		
Tonkawa 0		

Beyond the reasons given in the introduction for language decline, tribes in Oklahoma experience some unique conditions that affect their language. We will mention a few that we feel shape the nature of language programs in Oklahoma. Unlike other areas, Oklahoma tribal people do not have a land base. There are no reservations in Oklahoma. Tribal people live scattered amidst the larger white society. Although there is a cohesive Indian subculture, most Native children grow up within the context of white culture, and they must go to special places, such as Indian churches, tribal towns, or ceremonial places, in order to be submersed in traditional cultural practices and, if lucky, the language. In addition, communities do not have control of their schools, nor are the majority of their children in a single public school. The Oklahoma Department of Education allows Native American languages to be taught as foreign languages in the pubic schools, but in this mixed environment, the languages are always taught as optional foreign languages in the upper levels, not as immersion or bilingual programs. Remember also that a new English Only initiative is at work in Oklahoma, and if this is passed, it will have a negative impact on Native language programs in public schools. Finally, most of the elected tribal governments do not have language maintenance and renewal as a priority.

Given all this, most language programs in Oklahoma are grassroots, and they struggle for funds, locations, teachers, environments in which to use the language, and even community-wide acceptance. All of the programs have innovative teaching ideas and have their successes and hard times. There are many significant successes along the way, such as staying afloat with no money, or having a language camp, or increasing attendance. Some successes may be more immediately measurable, such as teaching an important song to the children, having youth be able to say appropriate prayers, or learning how to greet each other appropriately in the language; however, it is the goal of all language programs to produce new speakers.

Our initial findings show that the path that all language programs take along the way has certain stages. First, the community's attitudes about their languages change. Then, their awareness of the language situation and their needs grow. Finally, their creativity blossoms to address the situation. The following sections outline these vital stages and then describe some of the successful approaches to language revitalization.

From Belief To Reality: Stages of Community and Language Revitalization

Commitment of the heart. A Cheyenne Elder stated:

> How much does the Cheyenne language weigh? How much does the Cheyenne language cost? How much room does the Cheyenne language occupy? How does the Cheyenne language feel, taste, or smell? What does it look like? If the Cheyenne language can be put into those quantifiable terms, then the more prevalent white society may understand the total impact of what it means to be losing the Cheyenne language. But we [Cheyenne people] will never be able to weigh the Cheyenne language. (Littlebear, 1994 as quoted in Reyhner, 1997, p. vi)

A strong belief underlying Native languages is that they are the soul and spirit of the people, and you cannot measure what language means to the people. This represents the belief of indigenous peoples about their ancestral languages. At the American Indian Language Development Institute at the University of Arizona, we have heard that "our language is a gift from Creator, "but we have also heard that, "because it is the gift from Creator, we must take care of it. We must nurture, develop, and transmit it to younger generations."

Awareness of the reality of language situation. Native people have begun to realize that their children are no longer acquiring their ancestral languages. A serious language shift has taken place, replacing their heritage languages with English. This shift is realized as a loss of intimate relationships among people. It was, they realized, the heritage language that established, nurtured, and developed affections, understanding, and trust among family members, members of the community, and in the relationship of the past, present, and future. Now, it has become apparent that there has been a major upheaval in the normal "invisible and unremarkable" (Brandt, 1988) process of heritage language acquisition formerly carried out in daily interactions among family members. The language is no longer heard as the medium of socialization and enculturation; it is lost or on the brink of being lost. Oftentimes, it is difficult to accept this reality, difficult to understand what went wrong (without blaming the outside forces), and difficult to know what to do to counter such language shift. It is especially difficult to accept that we need a "plan" and the development of "tools" to assess and address this situation.

Committed experimentation. There have been individuals and groups of individuals who were driven by a personal commitment to take action against this shift. Their actions can best be described as "committed experimentation" (Cummins, 1992). Such actions to reverse the language shift include: transcribing, translating, and interpreting archival documents such as audio taped oral traditions; creating space for language and culture within Head Start, elementary, and high school curricula; after-school community language programs; developing language materials and curriculum within grant programs; compiling, developing, and publishing dictionaries; establishing orthographies; developing and piloting grammar lessons; conducting immersion camps; conducting literacy development workshops; hosting tribal language summits; attending language institutes; and establishing a networking system of collaboration and co-operation among different programs. Such activities are occurring with or without the tribal, state, or federal support.

Re-contextualizing language and culture. When such activities attempting to reverse language shift occur, oftentimes the "heart of the people" (the language) becomes objectified. Objectified, it is no longer a living, dynamic means of expressing emotions, maintaining intimate relationships, and projecting a unique world. Instead, it becomes a language of study. This is a stark reminder that schools and classrooms continue to be perceived as a place where Indian students are taught the white man's ways in the white man's manner.

Transforming the culture of school. It is important to recognize that schools remain "contested space" (Lipka & Mohatt, 1998), in which fundamental changes must take place in the way teachers perceive themselves. Teachers must realize that they are the carriers of linguistic and cultural knowledge. They must strengthen their knowledge and experience of their heritage language and culture-they cannot afford to feel "inadequate and incompetent," especially when they compare themselves with other "non-Native" teachers. This also addresses the disparity that exists between those who are certified through teacher education programs and those who are not. Essentially, a "reverse brainwashing" of such teachers must occur (Watahomigie & McCarty, 1994), through which heritage language teachers can begin to legitimize their language and culture, validate their teaching, and incorporate community values into the schooling of children.

Re-creating classrooms. Heritage language teachers are often given the tremendous responsibility of developing language curricula and language materials and of teaching the language. Under such pressure, it is difficult for them to remember to utilize their speaking ability in a classroom setting in order to maximize their fluency. They face the challenge of creating a classroom that optimally approximates a natural language setting and that promotes communicative interactions between the teacher and students and between students and students. They face a challenge to do things in the language.

Changing attitudes from hurt to responsibility. All tribes and communities underwent attempted linguistic and cultural extermination through the government's boarding school system or through parochial education. It is true that the parents and grandparents of most of the language teachers and learners today were not allowed to speak their language; they were punished horribly if they did, and they have carried these fears of language learning with them ever since. However, in the last few years, there has been a change in attitude from one of "we can't because" to "it is my responsibility to teach my language" or "it is my responsibility to learn." Language is a responsibility, not a privilege. Successful language programs have students that feel that it is their responsibility to learn and to begin passing the language on to their families, and they have communities that feel it is their responsibility to promote language use, not simply give lip service to the importance. Often, when very few resources, such as speakers or money, are available, the learners feel the responsibility more, but this kind of feeling is spreading through all communities now.

There are many different types of language programs—from the most natural settings for language acquisition to the most objectified language learning as an academic subject. In all programs, we find general principles that guide us in our efforts in revitalizing our heritage languages.

Successful Approaches to Language Revitalization: What Works

The following is an initial list of characteristics that appear to be shared, partially or wholly, by successful language programs. Each could be the topic of a whole conference, but only a brief discussion is provided for each. No matter

what kind of program we may have implemented—whether the Master-Apprentice model, preschool immersion class, or after-school class—these characteristics seem to help overcome difficulties and enable these programs to be on their way to produce new speakers.

1. Using teams. Language programs that work with language teams have a high rate of success and, overall, a lower rate of frustration for the community teachers. A Language Team consists of Elders, community language teachers and advocates, and outside resource people, such as linguists and curriculum developers. It is important to stress that the linguists and education specialists are only advisors and perhaps promoters of new teaching methods (the master-apprentice style is one example); they do not run the show. Successful teams rely on the Elders in all final decision making. They are democratic among the community educators and language advocates. The outside resource people give guidance and, especially, training in language material collection and analysis and in curriculum and materials development. The result is materials that are accurate, consistent, culturally appropriate, and the community's own products.

We want to emphasize that there are "gifted" Elders in communities who offer more than just proficiency in the heritage language. These are Elders who, without specific training, have a profound understanding of their language and a remarkable ability to provide meaningful and insightful cultural interpretations of linguistic phenomena (including stories, songs, and general speaking). It is essential to have these Elders as members of the team.

2. Using immersion, speaking the language. Several years ago, the idea of immersion was new and rather frightening to most community language teachers. The Elders, especially, felt uncomfortable with the idea of staying in the language, especially when the students did not fully comprehend what they were saying. However, there has been a gradual change in this attitude. Part of this change has come from seeing successful immersion programs at work, and some of it is owing to training in using the immersion approach. Programs can use immersion during significant portions of a class or during parts of language camps (soft immersion). There can be more intensive immersion, as in the master-apprentice style, throughout an entire day, weekend, or week camp (total immersion). And there is the more natural immersion of just using the language with small children in Headstart or day care. If the goal is to revitalize the heritage language as the language of thinking, creativity, transmission of cultural tradition, and communication, then the only way to do so is by speaking it. By learning about the language, we will not achieve our goal. It is clear, though, that programs that have cut out the intermediate step of translating into English have much more success in producing speakers and in increasing the ability of the students to think the heritage language.

Re-introduction of the heritage language is important beyond learning the language itself. By offering the language through various programs, especially through immersion, these programs will promote the individual's responsibility in understanding and participating in cultural traditions. Such language classes provide an opportunity, particularly for junior high, high school, and college

level youth, to begin developing a personal and tribal identity firmly grounded in the heritage language and culture.

Because more and more communities are looking toward immersion, we have provided Kenneth Hale's typology of immersion programs in the Appendix on page 126. We find it an invaluable guide to the types and degrees of immersion that communities adopt.

3. Being family oriented. In a natural setting, children acquire language at home from their primary caregivers. In growing up with their family, children learn what is important from the family. Thus, it is more and more apparent that just teaching children the language does not work if they cannot go home and use the language with their parents or grandparents. Just teaching young adults does not work if they do not see their parents wanting to use the language. Teaching adults does not work if they have no one to talk to in the language. However, teaching to a family overcomes many of these obstacles. Classes and camps that encourage parent and extended family involvement with children see more progress in the children's and the adults' abilities to actually use the language. Some Head Start programs are making night classes for parents mandatory, and some communities are initiating master-family apprentice programs.

4. Setting goals. Any effective program should be based on a clear understanding of the community's language situation. The program designers and staff need to understand the community in which they implement their program. In one community, a survey designed to gage the youth "voice" discovered that the youth wanted more attention from parents, language instruction without criticism, and deeper knowledge of community values, history, and traditions.

Goals may be different for different communities. The goal may be to teach the young men how to use and understand the language for specific rituals. It may be to get several families using the language in their homes. Or it may be to have the ancestral language as the primary language of communication for the whole tribe. Set long term goals high, but have intermediate goals that are attainable. Classes that have these intermediate goals generally achieve them and experience less frustration in facing the very formidable task of teaching and learning an entire language. Pat yourself and your students on the back when you achieve them. No matter how modest immediate goals and objectives may be, this is a time to celebrate and to let your students and your community know that things are happening.

5. Building up not out. Communities with very few speakers left have found it necessary to produce new fluent speakers quickly so that these new younger speakers can become teachers. This urgent need to produce fluency can be met if several learners commit themselves to intensive language learning for several years. In these cases, the remaining speakers also must devote their time and energy to these few learners, which means when others come knocking at the door to learn, their learning may have to be postponed in order to utilize the limited human resources to the maximum. This, unfortunately, goes against most tribes' attitudes that language-language is for everyone. However, many of these communities have had to make a choice: They can teach everyone just a

bit about the language, or they can teach a few to really speak the language in order to build up the language (This was also the successful strategy of the Hawaiian language immersion program.) The key is that the people who do undergo this intensive training must also be committed to becoming teachers and to passing the language on to others. When the new teachers begin teaching the language, they will be teaching to more and more, or building the language out.

6. Balance in old and new. Balance and harmony are good in everything, but here we are specifically referring to the balance between old and new, between tradition and innovation. For example, successful programs will rely on their Elders for decisions and council, but the younger people need to have a voice in introducing new ideas, such as Master-Apprentice or CD-ROMs. Tribal languages are traditionally oral, and successful language programs will emphasize spoken language through the oral traditions of story telling, prayers, humour, and skilful oratory. However, they will also create quickly (and without too much argument) an alphabet or system of syllabics to use as a teaching tool or as an aid in some preservation projects.

7. Working through language variation issues. Many issues of language variation within a community can cause stress with language workers, no matter how devoted they are. But these issues can be and are resolved in many communities. In fact, they must be resolved before language programs can successfully move forward. Being aware of them as pitfalls and establishing mechanisms for discussion and resolution are essential.

(a) Oral Versus Written: When the number of fluent speakers declines, sometimes the language is guarded as sacred. Because the language was traditionally oral, some people think it should not be subjected to a written form. This kind of attitude may make the task of revitalization difficult because the most effective method of language revitalization is to surround the learners with the language. We already know that the "oral" language is not everywhere anymore. Stories are not being told as means of teaching and entertainment. The people's history is not being transmitted orally to younger generations. In addition to oral tradition, a new tradition of writing the language has become an important "addition" to the richness of the language resources.

(b) Writing System: If a language is to be documented in a written form, what writing system should be used? In some communities, a new way of writing the language is devised. In other communities, an orthography introduced by missionaries has become their writing tradition. In still other communities, there exist multiple ways of writing the language, as if there are as many writing systems as there are speakers.

(c) Variations: We often encounter variations within families, clans, bands, between males and females, and between young and old. The difficult issue often arises as to which variation should be taught without excluding the others.

(d) What Should Be Taught and How: How do we select what needs to be taught, and when? In the immersion approach, activities and what of the language should be taught and when need to be carefully planned. Some activities may be oriented toward pre-school children, some toward young adults, some toward adults, some toward females, some toward males, and some toward all generations and both genders.

8. Working through politics. Oftentimes, language revitalization efforts get entangled in local and family politics. Community-wide support is best. However, if we foresee difficulties in recruiting resource persons, Elders, language teachers, and even language learners, then it will be better not to formally involve the entire community. Start small and gradually expand the circle of teachers and learners.

9. Perseverance. Most of us are all too familiar with this, but it is worth repeating. Keep going no matter what: no money, no tribal support, personality problems in the group, the loss of speakers. In spite of the serious language shift situation, many endangered languages continue to be spoken. Awareness of the fragile situation of our heritage languages is being voiced and heard loud and clear across tribal communities. We must also spread a sense of hope and optimism, as we are trying to do by presenting this report, and form a strong support network among all of us.

What Is Not Necessary

1. Money. Do not wait for money. You can do a lot without money. Having little money actually helps the community and the students to be active parts of the class and to be more responsible for learning. Some classes have students help in making teaching materials to relieve the financial burden on the teacher (and they sure do learn how much effort the teacher spends each week!). Generally, the whole class or community gets behind fund-raising projects, which brings them together and creates another situation in which they can use and hear the language.

2. Tribal support. Do not wait for tribal council support. Seek tribal and community support and involvement as you do the work. Successful programs incorporate the entire community.

3. A large number of speakers. Of course, communities with a large base of speakers to draw upon as teachers, especially younger speakers, are blessed. However, some larger tribes with several thousand speakers are complacent. If you have 12 speakers and produce four new speakers through a master-apprentice program, it is better than 10,000 speakers doing nothing.

The Next Stages

We consider our first year of visiting language programs a success. We have visited to date 15 language programs in Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma. We have compiled useful reports on the problems encountered and the creative strategies employed. We plan to continue the collection of this type of data next year, at least doubling the number the programs we visit and extending the visits

throughout the United States. This phase of tasks will lead to the production of "Facts" brochures and "How-to" brochures. Although this stage is preliminary, we would like to create brochures that include the following:

1. "Facts" Brochures
   - First language acquisition (perhaps several brochures)
   - How children acquire their first language. All children worldwide are born with the capacity for language. What is this capacity? What is necessary to develop it? (Does the language environment play a role? What is the role of the parents or caretakers?) Children's language develops in stages-what are the major stages of language development?
   - Second language acquisition (several brochures)
   - Is second language acquisition different from first language acquisition? What is the ideal situation for second language acquisition? Is there some ideal age at which to begin exposure to a second language? Do second language learners also go through stages?
   - Language learning/teaching methods (several brochures)
   - What are the ways to teach language? Which method is most effective to whom under what conditions? Where can one get training?
   - Native American languages (several brochures)
   - How many Native American languages are there in the US? What are their characteristics?
   - Native American language revitalization programs (several brochures)
   - What is the status of Native American languages in the US? In Canada? In Latin America? In South America? What are people doing to maintain and revitalize their languages? What programs are being implemented? Which program is effective to whom under what conditions? What is needed?
   - Bilingualism and biculturalism
   - What is bilingualism? What is biculturalism? Does bilingualism go hand-in-hand with biculturalism? Is bilingualism desirable?
   - Language and brain
   - What does the brain do for language? Is the monolingual's brain different from the brain of the bilingual? Why should we know about this?

2. "How-to" Brochures
   - How to document our language
   - How to prepare a grammar
   - How to prepare a dictionary
   - How to prepare language materials for teaching
   - How to use computers for language lessons
   - How to start a language program in school
   - How to start a language program for adults in the community
   - How to attract learners
   - How to recruit language teachers
   - How to train language teachers
   - How to evaluate the effectiveness of the program

- How to evaluate language materials
- How to get funding for ...
- How to get "experts" to work with us

With these tasks in mind, the ILI has undertaken the first phase of its goal-gathering information on various language programs in the North America.

Part IV: Summary and Conclusion

Over a period of four months, the three field linguists for ILI visited some 15 programs in the states of Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma. These programs were all different, yet there were some similarities as well. Communities that host these programs are all facing the same serious issue: Even in communities where many families continue to use the heritage language as the major means of thinking and communicating, the number of the fluent speakers is getting smaller each year. Increasingly, fewer children are acquiring the language in natural settings, and the fluent speakers are often elderly.

In the process of designing, implementing, and evaluating programs, each program has faced issues and problems. What has made these programs successful, however, is that each has found a way to address those issues and problems. Remember that each community and each program has its own unique situation and condition under which the program is implemented. We expect to find more ways in which different communities have met these challenges. In spite of the rich variation of programs and approaches, it is the goal of the ILI Language Program to summarize the common issues and problems and how they may be resolved. The information we gather will be made available to all language programs—the veteran and those just starting up—through the ILI office, the ILI Web site, the brochures, and possibly monographs of certain programs.

We wish to thank all 15 programs that were willing to share with us and the larger audience about their programs, their practices, and their reflections. And we would like to thank those who have stated their willingness to share in the coming year. What we have found, the common challenges and individual innovations, will help everyone in the maintenance and revitalization of Native languages and in the reversal of negative attitudes toward our ancestral languages.

Our view of the importance of ancestral languages is expressed in the poem below recited at the 21st American Indian Language Development Institute at the University of Arizona by Solomon Ratt of Cree Nation.

Ahkami-n´hiyaw´tÅn kipˆkiskw´wininÅhk!

Ahkami-n´hiyaw´tÅn
kipˆkiskw´wininÅhk,
ast´w
kinisitohtamiwinaw.

Ahkami-n´hiyaw´tÅn
kipˆkiskw´wininÅhk,
ast´w
kipimÅtisiwinaw.

Ahkami-n´hiyaw´tÅn
kipˆkiskw´wininÅhk,
ast´w
kinisitaw´yimisonaw.

Ahkami-n´hiyaw´tÅn
kipˆkiskw´wininÅhk,
ast´w
kin´hiyawÅwinaw.

Let's keep on speaking Cree in our language!

Let's keep on speaking Cree
in our language,
there
our understanding is there.

Let's keep on speaking Cree
in our language,
there
our life is there.

Let's keep on speaking Cree
in our language,
there
our recognition of each other is there.

Let's keep on speaking Cree
in our language,
there
our Creeness is there.

Note: The ILI Home Page is: www.ipola.org or www.indigenous-language.org

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Appendix

Different Degrees of Immersion [Adopted and modified from Kenneth Hale's Lecture at the 20th Annual American Indian Language Development Institute (June 1999). The types are organized from the highest degree of immersion (Type 1) to the lowest degree of immersion (Type 5)].

Type	Characteristics	Examples	Training	Parents	Planning
1	Totally natural. Doing things in the language all the time. Language abundant.	Home	No special training	Intensely involved	No need
2	Somewhat natural. Doing things in the language at planned times at planned places, mostly one-on-one. Language abundant during the planned time/place.	Master-apprentice Language nest Language camp	Minimal training (no English)	Involved & supportive	Required as a team
3	Somewhat artificial. Doing things in the language at planned time at planned places, mostly one-on-many. Situational syllabus. Language abundant for planned purposes	Immersion class	Intensive training in hands-on field experience	Maybe involved, all subject areas	Careful planning support necessary
4	Artificial. Doing language mostly in the language at planned time at planned places. Situational/grammar-based syllabus. Language for instructional purposes; selective.	Language class	Extensive training in linguistics, education, anthropology	Maybe involved, support useful	Careful planning
5	Academic. Teaching about language. Grammar- based syllabus. Language examples to illustrate characteristics of the language; highly selective and organized.	Language class	Intensive training in linguistics.	No	Careful planning

A Native Language Immersion Program for Adults
Reflections on Year 1

David Kanatawakhon Maracle, Merle Richards

In September 1999, an adult immersion program in the Mohawk language began at Six Nations, an Iroquois community in southern Ontario. Its purpose was to provide adult learners with the opportunity to learn to speak the Mohawk language with sufficient fluency to participate in traditional cultural activities in Mohawk. It was hoped that, with a strong foundation in oral language use, students would be able to further their language development through continued interaction with fluent speakers in the community. This presentation describes the program's several distinctive characteristics and its results.

What was the reason for developing an adult immersion program?

Years of regular once-a-week language classes for adults had not been successful in developing fluent speakers of Mohawk. Most students dropped out after the first few weeks, and those who remained were not developing enough oral language skills to practice further with fluent speakers in the community. The classes focused on the basics of language (i.e., how to put words together, vocabulary, etc.), but did not provide enough opportunity for active language use. An adult immersion program was developed to provide an environment where students could actually use the language they learned while further developing conversational skills and benefiting from the presence of fluent speakers.

How was the program organized?

Brian Maracle, a resident of the Six Nations Territory and a language learner himself, designed the program, building on the valuable experiences he had gained through participating in a previous experimental adult immersion course, with some changes in the structure and the methods used. He organized funding, found a house that could be used as an immersion setting, and arranged for instruction and participation by fluent speakers from the community. Limiting the group to twelve adult learners who had some previous language study was an important feature. To ensure that all the participants shared some basic knowledge, a "readiness course" introducing basic grammar and vocabulary was offered in the spring before the immersion program. The instructor, David Kanatawakhon Maracle, also served as a link between the readiness course and the immersion classes, where he was a resource person, spending time on grammar, but, more importantly, speaking the language actively all the time or as much as possible.

The term "immersion" usually implies communicative methods and situation-based talk. How were these accommodated in the program?

The group met daily in a rented house, which provided a less formal atmosphere than a classroom. The relaxed setting, the sharing of meals, and the

presence of different Elders and speakers on different days created a conversational context. Occasional group outings and activities also provided content to discuss and review. One regular situation that involved conversation was preparing, serving, and eating lunch every day. In this situation, the fluent speakers were able to model usage and apply what had been learned in class. People took turns in the kitchen, with the fluent speakers overseeing and describing the operations. In this setting, even the shy or slower students were able to relate vocabulary and the experiential context.

Another useful tactic to generate discussion was to use pictures as the focus for talk, again providing a concrete source of meaning along with the spoken forms. Word cards, flash cards, and similar materials were available for individual or group practice and review.

What other methods of instruction were used with this group?

Contrary to our original expectations, but in response to students' questioning, the instructors ended up giving extensive grammatical explanations using a blackboard. The strategy was to provide examples by describing a situation in English and then showing the Mohawk equivalent of that particular situation, always trying to use words in an illustrative context rather than simply saying, "This translates as *X*." Full paradigms of words, especially verbs, were provided to give students the elements they needed to construct utterances.

What were the problems encountered?

The program moved rather slowly. It turned out that the students who had taken the readiness course retained less than anticipated. Some of the students appeared to be starting from day one, with little grammatical knowledge. We had expected to spend our time teaching how to manipulate the language and how to use it conversationally and to devote little time to grammar. However, a great deal of time was spent explaining simple grammar points that should have been learned in the spring course.

As well, learners had different expectations about what an adult immersion course should be. To the organizers, an immersion course implied that the classroom language would be Mohawk, with English used only when necessary for communication. But some of the students were uneasy about not understanding everything they heard; they wanted to be in an immersion course, but at the same time they wanted to know in English exactly what they were hearing in Mohawk. They, therefore, kept asking for translations and explanations in English. As a result, the instructors found themselves explaining things in English too much and not spending enough time just speaking Mohawk, describing things, and talking through activities. They were talking about the language rather than in it. The process was counterproductive for the students because they were not learning to listen and also were not trying to catch some meaning from the stream of spoken Mohawk. It was hard for the fluent speakers as well because being asked for translations all the time forced them to think and speak in English more than in Mohawk as they searched for equivalent words, thinking how one

would say in Mohawk some phrase used in English. As a result, they were not able to use the language naturally in the context of conversation.

We found, too, that, although the chalkboard lessons were effective in explaining grammar concepts, they created non-language activity at times. Some students became so engrossed in writing everything down from the chalkboard that they did not listen to the explanations or retain the pronunciations. They would then ask the instructor to say the same thing over and over again—a tedious process for their classmates. Moreover, afterwards, unless they reread and studied their notes, they were not actually learning the content. As Brian Maracle put it at one point, "If what you've written in the book were a sign of fluency, then everyone in the room would be a fluent speaker." The students were not speaking enough, and some could not even read their notes easily.

To counteract this trend of non-language activity, the instructors decided to spend more time verbalizing examples. For instance, they would pronounce examples and change the forms, changing different tenses and aspects of a verb (such as from a conditional to a future situation) to demonstrate the phonological changes and pronunciation rules that accompany certain grammatical changes. The instructor would only write the root form on the board, forcing the students to listen and think out the word forms. In future, this might be a focus for the readiness classes.

Have you observed any characteristics that seem to make language learning easier for some students than others?

Students who have considerable academic background seem to know how to study more effectively, and those who have already studied a language or are knowledgeable about English grammar have some language learning strategies that make it easier for them. People who have never seriously studied a language before often do not understand that talking about language is different from learning to use it; you can know the linguistic structures of a language without being able to speak it. At the same time, it can be helpful to explain a form that students need to acquire or to correct them and then demonstrate and practice the form. In this class, some students were continually asking questions about structures, but for those who lacked the linguistic concepts and the grammar terms, it was difficult to comprehend the explanations.

For example, English seldom requires gender markers. In English, you can say, "The boy is running," but in Mohawk, one says, "The boy he is running." Where English uses "The man saw the woman," Mohawk uses, "The man he saw her the woman." Verbs, as well as nouns and pronouns, are marked for gender, and animate verbs are marked for relationships. We found that for students who had not previously studied a language this was an extremely difficult concept; they quite literally had to alter the way in which they expressed themselves. They had to remain aware of these patterns while trying to put phrases together.

The course was most difficult for those students who had no post-secondary education. Their habitual daily language use was not highly articulate or rich in vocabulary, so it was hard for them to grasp the fundamental differences between

the two languages. Students who did best in Mohawk were those who had rich English usage. When learning Mohawk as a second language, it seemed that success was more likely if the students had a good grounding in their daily language, that is, if they had a good sense of structure, a better than average vocabulary, and the ability to use vocabulary effectively. That grounding makes it possible for students to form general concepts about language and to understand the specific differences between languages, which really helps in learning a second language. Mohawk speakers find themselves using a lot of different words because there is no "basic English" strategy of "one word fits all." In Mohawk, there usually is a specific word for any specific situation—it is just not the same situation as in English! You have to know the different ways of expressing your idea.

What were the most frequent questions asked by learners?

Most questions related to verb forms or other vocabulary. The students who wanted to say something in Mohawk would first frame the utterance in English. Then they would ask, "How do you say...?" But the two languages have different underlying assumptions about relationships and time and space that show up in the grammar and in how words are used in context. Interpreting out of context, therefore, caused real problems of understanding because if an equivalent word was given, the students assumed that that word would have the same use in Mohawk as the translated word had in English. You can learn a word in context and apply it in the proper contexts if you are shown how and taught how, but when you attach an English interpretation, learners use the English word as a model. They ask, "Well, how come we use that word here, but you can't use it there?" The Mohawk might require entirely different expressions where English would use the same word because the Mohawk context suggests different meanings. Misunderstandings often arose because the learners did not know how to frame questions that would elicit relevant meanings from the fluent speakers. For the speakers, there was no problem in their use of the language, which was intuitive and expert. But their usage was purely oral; they were never educated in their own language academically, so it was hard for them to explain it to learners or to see what their difficulties might be.

Can you explain some of the ways that knowing English makes it hard to learn another kind of language?

In our interviews, several students commented that the greatest interference with language learning came from English. One problem is the "basic English" strategy mentioned above, which allows a speaker to use a small amount of English vocabulary in many ways. For example, you have expressions like "I put on," "I put in," "I put under," "I put over," "I put away," "I put around," "I put back," "I put up" and also expressions like "I put up with." English relies heavily on particles, which means that the speaker does not really need to know a great deal of vocabulary, just the situation in which the words occur. In Mohawk, you need a different word for each one of those expressions. Similarly, in English,

you can say, "I trust him," but in Mohawk, you have several different nuances of meaning: "How do you trust him? Do you trust him with money, with what he has to say, with his behaviour, with how he is going to do something?" In English, the one word "trust" can be used in any of those contexts, but in Mohawk, each requires a different word. When this became a problem it was usually because the learners were not fully aware of the ways in which they used words in English and, therefore, expected each Mohawk word to have one meaning and one pronunciation. Even though in English they can use vocabulary flexibly or precisely and can frame meaning in many ways, they appeared unable to acknowledge the same kind of flexibility in Mohawk. Mohawk words often have different meanings in different contexts. For example, *ikehre* can mean "I want to," but it can also be "I think." Some students had a hard time trying to figure out such relationships—"Why can it mean 'I want to do something' this time and mean 'I think something' next time?" They were not noticing the grammatical marker that makes the distinction clear. For many words in Mohawk, different grammatical forms indicate different interpretations. In this case, you can say, "*Ikehre akhninon*"—"I want to buy it," but if you say, "*Ikehre tsi akhninon*," what you are saying is "I think I'll buy it." That *tsi* in there changes the interpretation. Fluent speakers know intuitively how this works, but learners have to be shown the difference.

As well, some of the students used a quite limited vocabulary in English, without much colour or variation. This appeared to affect their ability to deal with the wide range of vocabulary that exists in Mohawk. For example, trying to explain the differences between expressions like "I hear something" and "I hear that they left" became extremely difficult because the conjunction "that" is seldom used in colloquial English. Speakers just omit it. So trying to get the students to use the conjunction in Mohawk depended on making them aware of it in English as a construction that is there, but that can be deleted in speech. Moreover, students with a thin vocabulary in English sometimes found it hard to understand classroom explanations or recognize when terms were synonyms. For example, they might know "I understand" but not "I comprehend." So having been told that there is a word for every different situation in Mohawk, they looked for different Mohawk words for "understand" and "comprehend," not realizing that they have a similar meaning. In fact, you would say "*wake'nikonhrayenta's*" for both.

What was the role of fluent speakers in the program?

There always used to be people in the community who were known to be especially good speakers, whose rhetoric was admirable, who knew all the nuances of speech making, and who were considered educated in Mohawk. Nowadays, there are very few such models. It was, therefore, essential to have good speakers whose pronunciation and grammatical skills could both serve as models for the learners and strengthen the skills of the instructors.

It became clear, however, that even our most fluent speakers do not speak the language often enough to be actively engaged in the language, constantly developing it by using it in new situations. This was especially apparent in contrast with language communities where there are still many speakers. In Iroquoian

communities where the number of speakers is dwindling, we have fewer and fewer people who are truly fluent in their own language—who can quite literally talk the birds out of the trees using language alone. Many of them, when asked, "How do you say this?" can certainly tell you a way to say it, but the form that comes to mind may not be one they actively use themselves. Either the usage does not come to mind because they seldom use the language in discourse with other fluent speakers, or the way the question is asked does not elicit the context that would generate a rich answer. So they have little occasion to use the really colourful vocabulary that exists in the language, and it is therefore being lost.

Another finding was that when fluent speakers became teachers, they tended to simplify their own usage to make it easier for the learners. Rather than cultivate the richness of language, with its many ways of expressing meaning, they often used only the words that had been taught because those were the ones the learners could recognize. That was fine at the beginning of the language learning, but it did not illustrate the depths of meaning the language can convey. Conversely, the speakers also frequently used highly complex forms for which the students were not ready. Being fluent, they did not notice the grammatical structures in their own speech. This suggests that when planning language programmes involving speakers from your community, you must pay attention to the language level even of the fluent speakers.

The speakers themselves are still aware of the many ways of saying "trust" and the different words for "hear" and so on because those are part of even the most basic language use. However, speakers generally are no longer using really elaborate language forms except in ceremonies—and few people still know the traditional ceremonies—and that can affect the way they use words and grammar. Moreover, some speakers, who use English more than Mohawk, show a tendency to anglicize word organization in Mohawk when they speak. They use English sentence structure as the matrix even when they are using Mohawk words because that is the way they think in English all the time. This also creates a real gap between today's fluent speakers and the old tradition. In older times, people were acutely aware of formal versus informal usage, and most of the traditions and rituals used very formal, "elevated" language. Contemporary speakers have difficulty with the more formal language. In daily speech, for example, they use contractions and drop endings and syllables so often that they may no longer be aware of the full, formal shapes of words. As well, in communities like Six Nations and Tyendinaga, the people we call fluent speakers certainly were fluent as children or as young adults, but in the last 40, 50, or 60 years, they have spoken mostly English. As a result, their ability to express themselves in adult ways may have become stunted. They have lost part of the range of language variation they would normally have had in a language used for all aspects of daily and community life.

This kind of language depletion creates problems even among the fluent speakers themselves. Depending on how they have been using the language over the years, they may speak easily in some situations, but have great difficulty in others. For example, only a few speakers who have taken an interest in medicinal

plants still know the names and functions of those plants. That is a whole part of the culture bound up in vocabulary that is being lost, even among those who can speak the language. So those that have the knowledge may not be able to discuss it even with other fluent speakers whose expertise is different. Over time, they may forget terms or expressions peculiar to their field, and with the vocabulary goes the knowledge it encodes. Over time, their language use becomes less rich and flexible as the range of subject matter they can discuss narrows, and their expressive range becomes more superficial. It is like a palette where much of the colour has dried up.

Given this first year's experience, what changes are contemplated for the next year?

There are certain elements of grammar and language organization that need to be mastered early as a foundation for language development. For example, the students should become aware very quickly of constructions of tense and aspect, such as *is*, *was*, *will be*, and *would be*, and *do*, *did*, and *have done*. Key words, like *yesterday*, *tomorrow*, *always*, *sometimes*, and *used to* can serve as cues to those constructions. It is also important for students to learn pronominal prefix usage quickly so that they can control usage of gender and number. As well, learners need to understand that the naming principle works differently in Mohawk than in English. Learners, of course, always ask the names of objects, qualities, and so on, and in English those names are nouns. Such nouns can always be invented in Mohawk, but often there is another more traditional form of reference, such as a mention of the object's function or state. For example, "refrigerator" might be "It keeps food cold," and "It's in the refrigerator," could just be "It's staying cold." We need to get students used to this kind of natural language usage. Perhaps we could do this by using prepared dialogues at first so that the language will be within the students' level, then by using tape recordings of speakers just talking and describing things. But one of the problems with fluent speakers "just talking" is that they go far beyond what students can handle in the initial stages. You have to coach them carefully and actually rehearse with them so that, when they make their tapes, they are using real language, but still talking in a way that beginners can understand. That has not yet been done in Mohawk.

The hard part for a fluent speaker is maintaining a beginner level without using stilted language or just teaching vocabulary. Unfortunately, for three decades, there has been an assumption that if you speak Mohawk, you can be a Mohawk language teacher. But teaching a language, especially one with so few speakers, takes a lot of skill and knowledge. Speaking fluently is not enough; you have to know how the language works and how people learn it. The teacher who has a good sense of what to do for the students can provide a step-by-step, pattern-by-pattern approach, which helps the students to understand what the teacher is doing and what language structures are being developed. Teachers who have learned the language as a second language themselves can often see where the difficulties are, but most fluent speakers are unaware of them. They

use language that seems simple to them, but has subtle complexities for learners. Even when responding to learners' questions, they may go far beyond the students' comprehension level.

When students learn specific patterns of how to put elements together, it greatly reduces the amount of language they have to learn. The old teaching method was to give specific phrases such as "I saw him," "He saw her," and "We saw the dog," and to make students learn them separately as individual pieces of information. That is a great deal of work, and it places a heavy burden on one's memory. But with patterning, students very quickly come to recognize the forms and can manipulate and alter them: "Oh, I know that pattern. I can put this word there." Then the teacher can introduce a new word, and the students can transform it grammatically, changing the pronominal prefix, putting it into the past, future, or conditional, using it with other words, and so on.

What are your plans for the next session?

We have reference materials available, and we need to spend time helping the students learn how to use them to increase their own vocabulary. We need to work on the sounds of the language in order to develop their audio sense so that they can master the phonology of the language. That way, they will not rely on the written forms when figuring out how they are going to say something. Then, once they are making the right sounds and have an oral base to hook the letter-sounds onto, we can introduce writing. Until now, we have introduced the written forms with the sounds, and the students have tended to treat the two as if they were inseparable, ignoring phonological rules that change pronunciations in different contexts. They need to use the writing system as they do in English, as a mnemonic device that simply reminds the reader of the correct sounds.

Another problem with introducing the spellings too soon has been that some students continue to read the letters and pronounce them as if they were English. For example, *K* in Mohawk is pronounced [k] or [g], depending on the context; the English pronunciation is irrelevant. Some of the students got so caught up in the spellings that they forgot that the letters did not represent English sounds. So after several months, they were still struggling with pronunciation, writing *A* and pronouncing English [ae], which does not exist in Mohawk. An initial period spent on the sound system and on some dialogues to introduce phonology should accustom them to hearing Mohawk. At the same time, it would introduce some strategies of language study such as memory work and oral practice where they have to listen and speak to others—strategies they can use with each other to focus more on the oral facets of the language.

As well, this coming year, we intend to spend much less time at the blackboard because, though the students may have learned whole chunks of the language academically, they did not hear it or use it in an active way. We hope to use a lot of dialogues to help them become proficient with the most commonly occurring forms. These dialogues provide structural models the students can use to express themselves, although they will still need to acquire a great deal of vocabulary, at least a thousand words.

What kinds of materials will be used?

The house should be covered floor to ceiling with all kinds of mnemonic devices, pictures, words, whatever will support learning. We also need to develop a variety of games and "play" materials to encourage oral practice and memory work and to develop graduated tapes that the students can use on their own. Some students have suggested a quiet study time in the afternoon when they could work individually; tapes would provide a way of doing self-directed and self-paced learning. Putting the theme dictionary on tape or CD-ROM would allow the students to access it on their own time, listen, and then do a vocabulary test. Stories on tape would be excellent, but the ones that are available are more for advanced or fluent speakers than for beginners. They are very complicated and hard to listen to because of the difficult vocabulary and complicated grammatical structures. For less experienced learners, one could record a short, simple version of a story, with accompanying pictures, told by a fluent speaker without using linguistic embellishments. Then a slightly more complex version with fewer pictures and some exercises could follow, and then the real story told in a traditional way.

Another activity students enjoy that we need to do more of is picture-based conversation, that is, looking at pictures and describing them. This is satisfying because the picture provides both meaning and context, and you can match the language to it: "There's the picture and this is the idea I'm trying to get across." We can look at the picture, and then at some detail, and then another and another, using the amount and kind of language for which the students are ready. And while doing that, we are using language that makes sense, that is, natural, communicative language. A similar resource is the picture story. The whole story is drawn on a series of acetates where each builds on and modifies the previous one, adding details or changing the meanings. In order to describe them, the students call upon more and more vocabulary. But these have not been developed yet, and the people who can do so are already working full time.

Are there special considerations about an Aboriginal language program that might be different from other immersion programs?

Initially, it is very important to have students in the program who are going to create an environment of success and accomplishment. That implies being highly selective at first so that, in the course of a few years, you create a cadre of fluent speakers who will affect the future of the language in a particular community. They will be the teachers, the ceremonial and cultural leaders, a resource for future learners. Then the language will become accessible to everyone in the community.

What developments are envisioned for the future?

This immersion program went from September until June, five days a week. That is a great deal of time in which to expect adults to deal with each other in the high-stress situations involved in language learning. One possibility in the future could be built-in rest periods, during which only a little language

maintenance would be required. For example, classes could be held three weeks out of four, or four out of five. For each period, goals would be set and practiced intensively so that students would gain both mastery and a sense of their own accomplishment, and each segment would show advancement over the previous one.

Another concern is the many people in the community who once spoke the language or whose parents and grandparents spoke it. They have "passive" comprehension, which means they can understand much of what they hear, but cannot speak the language. This is a group we would like to attract into the program because they have much of the language already and should profit from the immersion situation. Such people may become good language teachers in the future because, like the beginners, they will know the difficulties of language learning, but unlike them, they will develop fluency and pronunciation more quickly.

As well, the community would benefit from language development meetings with other communities. At these meetings, fluent speakers could develop vocabulary for non-traditional situations and compare vocabulary and usage from different Iroquois dialects or languages, forming new words where necessary. Gatherings for fluent speakers and learners who have completed the immersion program would help both to maintain and extend their language experience. The meetings would also help to overcome the language depletion that results from the lack of opportunity for practice. As students gained proficiency, they would participate more and more in such gatherings, strengthening the language and the community of speakers. This program is still evolving, but it has shown that adults can learn a language in an immersion setting, and we hope that other communities will adopt the model and adapt it to their own particular needs. It is one way to strengthen and restore Aboriginal languages as genuine communication systems within our many cultures.

The Importance of Women's Literacy in Language Stabilization Projects

Jule Gomez de Garcia, Maureen Olson, Melissa Axelrod

In every indigenous community in which we have worked on language stabilization projects, questions about literacy have been part of the discussion about the best kind of stabilization program for each community. Sometimes the questions are as basic as, "Why literacy?" If a language has never been written before, but has been successfully transmitted for generations, why take the time to create a writing system and to teach people to write when there are so few *speakers* left? Among some groups, the question has been an even more fundamental one involving distrust of the literacy process or a spiritual conviction that their language was not meant by its Creator to be written.

A more specific question asked by many Tribes has been the question of women's literacy, a question that was forcibly brought to the attention of the authors of this paper by a number of situations that converged in the summer of 1999. These situations led us to focus on this question in our work and to seek to share our experiences with others to see if they have had the same concerns and if they have found other (or any) solutions.

The first situation we will describe did not occur chronologically first, but it focused the issues for one of the authors and revealed the essence of the discussion in which we were engaged with various tribal members. Literacy can be an individual's desire, a longing for something that the situations of a person's life have not fulfilled or even given them the option to hope for. One of those hindering situations involves the "mere" fact of gender. Some people who want to learn to read are not able to—not because of some lack of capacity, but simply because they are women. The following is an account of one of the author's experiences in Chiapas, Mexico:

> During the summer of 1999, my daughter and I went to the highlands of Chiapas, Mexico, to take part in a human rights program that sends international observers to the mountain communities to serve as "human shields" for the indigenous people of the villages. The village in which I was stationed, Acteal, had suffered a massacre two and a half years before in which forty-five of the community members, mostly women and children, had been attacked in their church by paramilitaries, chased into the surrounding mountains, and brutally murdered.
>
> During the first part of my two-week stay in Acteal, my male campamentista partner and I heard the horrible story of the massacre from the men of the Board of Directors of the Village. The men would not talk directly to me while my partner was present because that would not have been culturally appropriate. But after he left and I was the lone campamentista in the community, I would go sit in the new church and the men of the village would come to tell me their stories of where they were when the massacre started, how they hid their children, stuffed

leaves in the babies' mouths so they wouldn't cry, how they later buried their wives and daughters, sons, brothers, and neighbours.

The men spoke Spanish and Tzotzil; the women, for the most part, spoke only Tzotzil. I didn't know *any* Tzotzil except for the few words and phrases my partner taught me before he left. But before we went into our villages, my daughter and I bought Spanish-Tzotzil bilingual books of folk tales thinking we could spend the time reading them and perhaps learn a few words of Tzotzil in that way. One day, I took one of the books into the new church, along with my notebook, to continue my pathetic attempts at morphological analysis of parts of a story. One of the men came to see what I was doing, and we worked for hours over the text. At one point, his wife, Rosa, joined us and listened to the two of us reading Tzotzil to each other. Finally, she grabbed the book as we passed it between us, looked at the page we were reading, then closed the book and hugged it to her chest, smiling while hugging and rocking the book. Her eyes were closed and she hummed quietly as she rocked. Then she thrust the book back at me and ran back to the community kitchen.

That night, I took the book to dinner and the men gathered around the 25 watt bulb and read while the women made stack after stack of corn tortillas, listening in and commenting on the stories.

After that day, the word spread among the women that I could read Tzotzil. Assuming that meant I could also speak and understand the language, they came to the new church and told me their stories, weeping, but obviously happy to have someone to tell. I didn't understand what they were saying—or, I didn't understand the words; the meanings were far too clear and too horrible to be trapped in the words. Because she was sure I understood what she was saying, even though the evidence to the contrary was abundant, Rosa also taught me how to wash my clothes on a rock, how to participate in Sunday prayer, what weeds to eat when I craved vegetables. I'm sure she must have thought that my stumbling along through the tasks as I misunderstood what was wanted of me was my general ineptitude at living her life rather than a deficiency in my language. I could, after all, read Tzotzil. Altogether, I learned a few more words of Tzotzil from these lessons and more during the nightly reading sessions that continued to take place in the kitchen as the men huddled around my book.

One of the rules of the human rights group is that participants are not to leave any material goods for the people when they leave. The night before I left, I took the book to dinner again. When I left for the evening, I "forgot" the book, and I could hear them reading and talking and laughing for hours into the night. I left the next morning without my book. But by then, I didn't think of it at all as a material possession. (Gomez de Garcia)

Rosa's actions helped to reinforce a phenomenon we had all witnessed earlier in the summer—the desire of indigenous people to experience the written form of their language and to produce a written form of the literature that contains the stories of their lives. Another significant encounter with this desire occurred during the children's Jicarilla language immersion camps that took place in Dulce, New Mexico, earlier in the summer of 1999. At those camps, a discussion emerged among the women counsellors about the role of writing. The discussion developed as a result of three observations made by the camp staff members.

First, the children had been given small journals and pencils in order to write about their experiences in camp. To our surprise, they took the notebooks with them on fieldtrips and asked the counsellors for the Jicarilla names of things they were seeing and then asked how to write them. After being told the spellings of a few of the words, they tried to figure out the spellings for themselves and to write the words down as they heard them. They were trying to create their own orthographic systems for the language as they were learning the words! From this, we recognized that writing is a tool that the children are accustomed to using in school to aid the learning process, and we felt it was appropriate to make this tool available to them and to encourage their use of it. It is important to emphasize here that we all viewed writing as a way to learn, rather than as something extra that is learned as a separate task.

Second, the women counsellors were very uncomfortable when writing Jicarilla themselves, and they worried that they were spelling the words incorrectly for the children at the camp. We had witnessed the women's concern with their own lack of proficiency before. During the teacher-training and curriculum-design workshops that we conducted for participants in the Administration for Native Americans (ANA)-sponsored Jicarilla Apache Language Immersion Project over the past year and a half, workshops that most of the camp counsellors had attended, it became clear that there was a great deal of uneasiness among the women about their writing. Although many of the workshop participants often had very creative ideas for curriculum materials (including children's story books, cultural and historical texts, and informational materials to be shared with the wider community), many members of the group hesitated to share their written work with others because of a fear that it might not be "correct." Even very fluent speakers were afraid of having their work criticized or of promoting the use of "bad" Jicarilla.

Third, as in Acteal, Chiapas, there are cultural and situational constraints on women's writing. In Acteal, men do not speak to women in public. In fact, the women come out of their houses only to do laundry and to attend prayer services. At the prayer services, the men sit on one side of the church and the women on the other. The men speak Spanish and Tzotzil, and several of them have learned to read in both languages. But the women speak only Tzotzil, and only the ones who have been trained as catechists for the women can read and write and speak a little Spanish in addition to reading and writing Tzotzil. The women have, in practice, no need to speak Spanish and no need to read and write. They have no need to read and write Tzotzil because the only contact most of them have with written Tzotzil is with the New Testament, which is read to them at prayer services.

In contrast, on the Jicarilla reservation, everyone speaks English, and there is a high English literacy rate. Many adults and teenagers and a few children speak Jicarilla Apache. Writing in Jicarilla Apache, however, is associated with academic linguistics, which is associated with titles conferred upon linguists following a course of study that gives them special abilities. Such titles are an Apache recognition of the particular abilities a person has received from some authority deemed worthy of conferring the title. There are no women in Dulce who have linguistics degrees, so these "untitled" women cannot claim the right to be correct in the way they write. There is, however, one man who has a Master's degree in linguistics from a university and who is, therefore, the titled, recognized authority.

A factor that contributes significantly to the difficulties in writing Jicarilla is the lack of a standard written form of the Jicarilla Apache language accepted by the Jicarilla themselves. The teachers, paraprofessionals, and parents who participated in the workshops felt the need to submit their work for corrections to the man whose linguistic training makes him the primary authority on writing in the community. These works were often rejected as a whole because they did not conform to a standard held by that person. The fact that this authority was male and the majority of the workshop participants female contributed to an imbalance in power and control that made the women uncomfortable when they were writing and therefore reluctant to share their work. They knew that others who had learned to write from other sources would judge their writing as "incorrect" because it did not correspond to the often capricious notions of correctness. But the women recognize the need for standardization of the orthography, and because they are committed to the success of the Immersion Project they recognize that they could play an important role in the standardization process. They have begun making plans for a literacy program that could give them the participation they need and want. Those plans will be discussed below.

As a result of our own experiences, we began to wonder how women in other communities experience literacy. How are they using writing? How are they acquiring it? And most importantly, how are supportive communities formed, that is, communities that recognize the strengths of individual learners and leaders and know how to put those strengths together to enhance stabilization projects that include writing?

The Toronto Conference Session on Literacy

Because the discussion of literacy issues, and particularly of women's literacy, can involve some intense feelings about cultural issues, personal beliefs, and political ideologies, we decided that we would introduce the discussion of literacy and literate communities to the participants in our Toronto Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Conference session through a participatory demonstration that we hoped would invite discussion on a level that would not violate any of the sensitivities mentioned above. The demonstration is one we have used with several other groups in order to invite such discussions. The Toronto session

yielded some very interesting comments and conclusions about literacy made by the participants during their reactions to the demonstration.

A language-learning demonstration. Writing is a system that symbolizes spoken language using marks on paper. To generate some thinking about the acquisition of symbolic systems, we presented a simple demonstration with blocks. The demonstration was loosely based on Gattegno's *Silent Way* (1972), but in this adaptation, developed by the first author, Dr. Gomez de Garcia, the presenter uses blocks of different shapes and colours to prompt the learner-participants to produce certain linguistic structures, in this case, the English pronominal system. The blocks are presented as symbols for spoken words. The learners are familiar with the words, but they must associate them with some arbitrary symbols (the coloured blocks). The goals of this lesson are the same as those summarized by Stevick (1976, p. 137) in his review of *The Silent Way*. Those goals are:

1. to subordinate teaching to learning;
2. to recognize the social forces at work on a class as primary to the learning process over imitation or drill;
3. to assure that the learner's mind "equips itself by its own working, trial and error, deliberate experimentation, by suspending judgement and revising conclusions" (Gattegno, 1972, p. 4);
4. to allow the mind to draw on everything it has already acquired, particularly including its experience of learning its native language; and
5. to keep the teacher from interfering with and sidetracking the learning process!

The goals of this demonstration as a lesson for learning *about* language learning are much the same, but it is learning about learning and the role of the individual and the community in the language-learning process that are the focus of the discussion that follows the block exercise.

The Block Exercise. The presenter, Dr. Gomez de Garcia, begins with four cylindrical blocks (Fisher Price's Baby's First Blocks) and presents each in turn, giving a word to go with them. First, she presents the green block and says "I." Then she indicates by gesture that she wants the learners to repeat the word. Next she shows the yellow block and says "you," requesting repetition by the learners. She then proceeds with a blue block, announcing "he" and signalling for the learners to repeat. And then she labels a red block "she," again signalling for the learners' repetition. She presents the green block again and, without saying anything herself, asks for a response from the learners, who generally respond "I." She alternates presentations of the four different coloured blocks, presenting them one at a time and indicating that a response is required from the learners after each presentation, but still without speaking herself (She has uttered the label for each block only once; the learners have provided all subsequent models of the labels.) The blocks are presented in varying order and with increasing speed until the learners seem comfortable with the pronoun labels for each of the four blocks.

At this time, the presenter introduces a new block, a green cube, which she labels "my car" and asks the learners to repeat. She then presents yellow, red, and blue cubes without saying anything, and the learners label them *themselves* as "your car," "his car," and "her car." Multiple presentations, with increasing speed, eliciting several repetitions of the responses, allow the learners to make the correct associations and to practice verbalizing them quickly.

The process is repeated with plurals for both the pronouns and the car(s), but without any verbalization from the presenter. The learners are presented with, for example, the blue cylinder and the red cylinder together, and the group comes up with "they." Confusion always arises when the yellow cylinder "you" is presented together with the blue or red cylinders "he" or "she," or when the three are presented together. The group is forced to come up with and agree on a form for the second person plural in English. Generally groups agree on "you," but they have on occasion settled for "yous" or "y'all." The plurals for the cars are elicited by presenting, for example, the red cube and the blue cube together, for which the learners produce "their cars." Different combinations of cubes elicit "our cars" and "your cars."

The presenter finally teaches the learners to use the blocks to produce possessives in sentence frames by saying "I'm driving my car" while presenting the appropriate blocks: the green cylinder on top of the green cube. The learners repeat the sentence. Other combinations are presented, and the presenter says nothing while the learners "create" sentences such as "She's driving her car," "He's driving his car," and so forth. Shifting drivers by moving the cylinders onto a cube of a different colour forces the learners to produce "I'm driving his car," "They're driving my car," "You're driving our cars," and so forth. One additional gesture labelled by the presenter allows students to create a number of sentences such as "I'm driving my car, and he's driving his car." Another gesture is added, and they begin to produce variations of "He's not driving his car." With more gesture, they produce many sentences with the same frame as "She's driving his car, but I'm not driving your car."

An observer's comments. As the demonstration was proceeding, the third author took notes on the learners' responses. It is important to note here that all of the authors have participated as learners in this presentation at one time or another. It is a task that requires intense concentration, and many participants in previous sessions have said that it is "exhausting." Only one, a linguist, has ever denounced it entirely. Learners remain focused throughout, and there is an atmosphere of intense participation. We include here the observer's notes on the learners' behaviours:

- Voices become stronger with each repetition, reflecting participants' growing confidence.
- Smiles build over time as speed of presentation of the blocks increases.
- Wider smiles appear, and learners laugh as errors are made.
- There is hesitation at "your car," then everyone has a look of confidence as they figure out what their response is supposed to be.

- Learners begin leaning forward in their chairs.
- When pronoun blocks are presented again after the "car" blocks, there is confusion.
- Learners use discussion intonation when trying to decide whether "I + you" should be "we" or "us," and there is actual negotiation over "you all."
- There is laughter over the plural pronouns, then confusion again with a return to the singular.
- The learners figure out the plural possessives much faster than the plural pronouns, and the laughter seems more relaxed.
- The group is more cohesive, working together as the voices that were initially louder and higher or trying to be first are gone and people seem to be looking for unison in their responses.
- The blocks prompting responses about driving cars are presented very quickly and smoothly, and the learners build in loudness as they build in speed.
- "Oh no!" someone says as the presenter deliberately makes the task harder, but the participants are now smiling, laughing, leaning forward in their chairs with eyes fixed on the presenter.
- One person makes an error, hears the correct response from the others and says "oh!" in recognition.
- Conjunctions are introduced, and the group figures it out very quickly, responding louder than before, giving complete sentences rapidly as the presenter gestures for them to speak their sentences ever faster to approach normal speech rate.
- With new conjunctions and negation, the group is very quick to understand, to create the appropriate sentences, and to respond very loudly.

The language-learning experience. After the demonstration, the learners were asked to reflect on the learning process they had just experienced. The initial responses were: "That was fun!" and "That was hard!" as well as, "That was useful for our language program; I never thought of language like that before!" In order to decontextualize the process, the participants were asked to reflect specifically on how the process they had been led through was similar to language and language learning. Their responses focused on how, like language learning, the process was difficult. Participants located the difficulty in the processes of being introduced to new symbols (sounds or blocks), associating sounds with patterns, finding rules, revising rules, and having to focus and listen with close attention. In addition, participants felt that the block demonstration reminded them of language learning because they had to try to be spontaneous and creative in their productions, and because it was fun, got better with practice, and made them think. They commented that they felt they could only learn a small amount at one time because they had to relate each new piece of language to a whole complex system before they could move on.

All participants commented freely on what they had just experienced as language learners. They talked about the "pieces" of language they had experienced, how they saw them fit together in ways that were not new, but that

made them recognize the system of the language they were building. They freely discussed their errors, recognizing where those errors had come from and how listening to the group had helped them to correct quickly and thus to keep up with the group. Although they were asked at this point to comment only on the language-learning process itself, they interspersed those comments with comments about the feeling of community that they had built in the short lesson.

Learning as a community. Participants remarked on the group nature of the activity, noting that everyone in the group took part and that hearing the others gave a sense of support and security. It felt good, some said, to hear other people making mistakes too. Without the pressure of testing, it was easier to make mistakes, and they recognized that, through mistakes, one could learn. "Being in a group made us dare to explore it," said one. "If we didn't stay on board and make a commitment, we would get lost," added another. "But if you got lost, there were others doing it so you could catch up. The community pulled you back in."

The role of the teacher. Other participants commented on the fact that the leader directed them mostly with gestures and with very little talking. "You really motivated us," they said, "and you didn't even say anything." There was a strong feeling of affection and admiration for the leader among the participants: "You were good at directing us," said one, and another concurred, saying: "You slowed down, repeated as if to say 'try again' when you saw a lack of understanding." "You smiled when we got it," said another, "you were checking with your eyes." All agreed that the demonstration made it clear that the teacher is a very important part of the learning community, even when the task of learning is left completely up to the students!

The process and pace of learning. There were also comments on the pacing of the task: "The quicker it went, the more difficult it was, and I stuttered." "If the leader had slowed down, it would have been easier." Other participants disagreed, saying that the rapid pace was good because it allowed them to make mistakes and, in fact, even encouraged the making of errors and the rapid recognition and correction of those errors. Further, keeping the pace up meant one was constantly challenged and never bored with the activity. The rapid pace also allowed for a lot of repetition and thus automaticity of associations and responses. While the speed of the demonstration decreased proficiency in the short run, said the learners, it increased it in the long run.

The complexity of learning and the role of negotiation. Participants expressed surprise at the difficulty of the task. "It was amazing how hard it was to associate colours with concepts (signifier-signified), given that there were only four blocks. But we were able to apply other concepts in making these relationships between symbols and meanings" (e.g., red for "she" and blue for "he," corresponding to our cultural practice of linking red and pink with girls and blue with boys). The process was like language learning in this way too: learners are able to apply knowledge they have acquired previously.

Participants noticed, too, that they were learning grammar: singular, plural, and possessives. "It made me think of pronouns in different ways," said one.

Another added, "It was the same word for different colours, for example, green and blue meant 'we,' as did green and red." "Yes," Gomez de Garcia agreed, "in order to do this task, you're using all the skills of grammar."

To illustrate this and to point out the role of negotiation and consensus in language use, Gomez de Garcia discussed the complex process involved in reaching a decision about the responses for a green block, representing "I," in combination with a block of another colour. The appropriate response is "we," but participants invariably suggest "us" as well, noted Gomez de Garcia. In the case of a yellow block, representing "you," in combination with a blue or red block ("you" plus "he" or "she"), common responses include "you all," "you two," "you guys," and "yous." "How did you end up with 'you'?" she asked. "You settled on 'you' as a group without guidance from the leader. In this process, there are no winners or losers; it is not a zero-sum activity."

Emotional and psychological requirements for success. Gomez de Garcia then asked the group to think about how they felt emotionally while doing the exercise. Participants commented on feeling a lack of proficiency and noted the various strategies they devised to regain a sense of proficiency at the task, including self-correction and co-operation with the group. Several participants also mentioned feeling grateful. When asked who they felt grateful to, responses were that the gratitude was towards themselves for participating, for enjoying the activity, for being able to respond correctly, and for having the self-discipline to succeed. They felt grateful to the group for providing continuity and support, and they also felt grateful to the presenter for being understanding and non-judgmental.

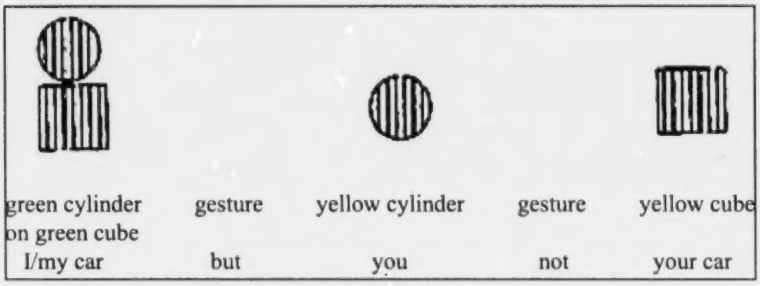
Overall, the group concluded that motivation for this task, as for any language-learning task, comes from group support and from the feeling that one can succeed.

The literate community: an allegory. This learning exercise was a very literate language activity, one in which a symbol is connected with a concept. Coloured blocks came to symbolize words in English that all of the students already knew. The presentation of any block elicited an oral response from the learners, a response that voiced the connection made between the symbol and the word it symbolized, much like what happens when we are reading aloud or to ourselves. The blocks arranged in certain configurations elicited sentences from the learners, just as words on a page in particular configurations bring sentences to the mind.

Figure 1 demonstrates one of these sentences in order to give a better idea of the symbolic nature of the process. It should be noted that the blocks are presented in a right-to-left order from the presenter's point of view so that they "read" left-to-right for the learners.

The presenter has verbally modelled the verb "driving" by placing the cylinder *on* the cube. The conjunction "but" and the adverb "not," represented by gestures, are also used one time each in the configuration. The learners have managed to generate a number of sentences from different configurations without the presenter modelling any other lexical items. This is much like what happens in reading. Just as we are able to produce spoken sentences without ever having

Figure 1. "I'm driving my car, but you're not driving your car."



heard them spoken to us, we learn to manipulate the symbols of writing so that we can read and understand written sentences that we have not heard read to us before. The members of the group present at this session could have "read" over 1,500 sentences generated just from the four coloured cylinders and cubes, the gestures for "and," "not," and "but," and the configurations that represented the nature of the predication.

The exercise demonstrates the emergent nature of literacy as the learners develop and then use their skills to connect symbols with concepts. Recognition of that connection, that symbolic value, is the beginning of the acquisition of literacy. The symbols for concepts learned in this exercise were simple—person, number, ownership, conjunction, and negation—but even the spaces or pauses between symbols and blocks meant something. In this way, this exercise is much like a reading exercise.

The members of this group also learned about the structure and importance of community and of each person's place in the work towards literacy. We ended our discussion with the following question: Why, if this exercise was fun and rewarding, are flags raised in Native American communities when we talk about literacy programs? Analysis of some of the participants' answers to questions about the learning process itself, and about the community of learners they had formed, are very revealing.

One problem, replied one participant, is that a literacy program, like this exercise, raises anxiety about one's proficiency. What they noticed about the small community we had formed in the approximately 25 minutes of the demonstration exercise was that no one was criticized for their lack of proficiency—not by the teacher and, most importantly, not by any of the other learners. What happens in many communities is that those who are already proficient in a target language belittle the efforts of those who are in the process of acquiring a language skill, be it speaking, reading, or writing. There are also identity issues involved when the target language is an ancestral language and when the learners are made to feel as though they are somehow less "traditional" or even less "ethnic" because they are not yet fluent speakers, readers, or writers of the language. Suggestions for dealing with such a problem have included "sensitivity training" for the scornful led by Elders who understand the efforts

being put forth by others to learn the language. Such training would emphasize the importance of helping learners to maintain a positive self-concept and making them feel supported in their efforts. It is also important to assure that those who *are* proficient in the language recognize how important they are to the success of the language program and what an important role they can play as teachers and leaders. This led us back to the second of the goals listed above for the block demonstration—to recognize the social forces at work on a class as primary to the learning process—and to the realization of how important the community had been in the success of individuals and of the "project" during the language-learning task in which the participants had just engaged.

Another problem, said a participant, is that this kind of task brings up painful memories of missionary classrooms and schoolroom punishments. We are now experiencing the effects of history, of the time when Tribal children were taken from their homes and placed in schools where they were punished for speaking the language of their parents. It is unfortunate how little we seem to have learned from this lesson considering that non-English speaking children today are being placed in classrooms where the emphasis is on learning to read and write a language they do not yet understand or speak, often before they have mastered literacy in the language they *do* understand. Although they are not being removed from their homes, we have to wonder at the kinds of resentments toward literacy we are forming in these children with our modern-day missionary classrooms (mission = English only) and schoolroom punishments. Turning those resentments from the past to positive use in today's tribal language literacy programs certainly provides a challenging task for all involved.

There were other interesting dynamics observed in the session that indicated how people were approaching and participating in the learning process. As people entered the room before the session started, they gravitated toward the back or sat along the perimeter of the rows of chairs that had been carefully arranged by the presenters. They looked suspiciously at the small, covered table that had been set up at the front and centre of the room, dangerously close it seems to the first row of chairs. At the urging of one of the presenters, some attendees (they did not yet know that they would soon become participants) moved closer to the front and centre. But others explained that they might have to leave or that they had other sessions they wanted to pop in on, so they wanted to be close to the door. This is what happens in many communities; there are those who are interested but who may not want to make a commitment until they know that the project will be interesting and worth their while. There are many other demands on their time, and a literacy project is yet another one of those demands. What are the benefits to be gained from participation? Those benefits should be revealed early and with great clarity and honesty.

The learners present in the session experienced the social benefits to be gained from participating in a driven group that is focused on a goal. They learned the benefit of feeling the support of others and the satisfaction of learning, and they felt gratitude towards themselves for having the determination to stick it out! Generally, however, people are looking for greater social benefits than these

such as better jobs or increased economic or educational opportunity. The ultimate goals of the participants, even if economic, need to be addressed in the early stages of project planning.

Involving women in this kind of planning is crucial. In many of the day-care, pre-school, and immersion programs we have visited or learned about, the majority of the teachers were women. Women's financial concerns can be markedly different from those of men, and the demands on their time can also differ. What level of commitment is to be expected of them? How many will step inside the door and listen for a while to see if the project will meet their needs, but then feel the pull of other commitments and leave because they do not see how the time and effort spent will benefit them? How many will remain on the periphery of the program, thinking that their participation is not required and that they are only "peripheral" to the literate community? Is "benefit to the language" a substantial enough goal to keep the attention of community members?

Following the demonstration, the participants were also asked who they thought the leaders in the language-learning community had been. Several voices proclaimed, without hesitation, "the front row." Some of those sitting in front looked surprised, as did some others not sitting in the front, some who had perhaps thought themselves to have taken a leadership role. Who *should* take the leadership role in language learning? Is that different from who *does* take that role? The "front row" is a clear metaphor for community leadership, whatever formal or informal nature that leadership has. When those in the front role are formally appointed to their leadership role, it comes as no surprise to them that others are following their lead. But when leadership roles develop informally, as they did during this session, "unlikely" leaders are bound to emerge, sometimes to their own surprise and often to the surprise of other community members, particularly the formally appointed leaders.

An interesting thing that happened during this session occurred when the blue cylinder "he" and the red cylinder "she" were presented together without any verbalization from the presenter. As the learners tried various forms such as "he and she" and even the relatively new "he/she," one participant, who was obviously a linguist, called out "third person singular masculine marker and third person singular feminine marker." The other participants laughed, and they treated this label as only a brief distraction from their task. They then refocused their attention on the two blocks until someone said "they," and everyone, looking relieved and happy again, took up "they" as the label for these two blocks presented together. A linguistic analysis was clearly *not* what was needed here, and, again, the community reached a consensus that even the linguists accepted.

It has happened in other groups with which this demonstration has been done that there is a more equal balance between men and women than there was at the Toronto session. In this session, there were only four or five men present and about fifteen women. The men did not take overt leadership roles, except for the failed attempt by the linguist, and, in fact, often followed the lead of the group, apparently not trying to be first or loudest in their responses. It has happened that in other sessions the leadership shifts from one person to another,

from man to woman, depending on whom the group feels is doing best at the time. Doing "best" can mean figuring out a confounding presentation of symbols, succeeding in responding smoothly and without errors, presenting an air of confidence in one's ability, taking risks even when others laugh, or being creative. As the task gets more difficult, the leadership changes, but never, in almost two dozen similar sessions, has the leadership stayed with one person throughout the lesson.

The same happens in successful literacy and stabilization projects. The leadership shifts, often without the conscious consent of the group, and new leaders emerge as the task changes because one person cannot be the master of all skills. These shifts in leadership can create problems when the organizational bureaucracy appoints a leader who does not recognize the leadership potential of each member in the project. This is especially problematic when the appointed leader is a man and the emergent leader is a woman. Cultural norms often do not allow or encourage such an arrangement. And, as we saw, the linguists should *not* be the leaders!

For most Tribes working toward stabilizing their languages, involvement of the community, consensus from the community on ways of proceeding, negotiation among community members when a problem arises, and support of the individual learner by the community of learners are crucially important. Establishment of such a community of learners requires answering some basic questions before the project can be undertaken, particularly when the project includes the use of reading and writing to aid in the learning of the language. If a community can come together to resolve these issues, that community will have taken great strides toward becoming a literate community before the first word is ever written or read.

The Jicarilla Apache Literacy Camps

To address the problems surrounding literacy in the Jicarilla Apache community, the Apache women are planning sessions in which they will standardize for themselves an Apache orthography under the guidance of three older Apache women. The sessions will offer an environment that will not only allow the women to gain the knowledge and skills necessary for competent literacy in Apache, but will also afford them the support of working together as a group of women. This is an important component of the Apache society, that is, women working together for the accomplishment of an important task, and the pre-school teachers and other women involved in the project are eager to participate in literacy lessons as a group.

The idea for these literacy camps was generated during the summer of 1999 at the Apache Language Immersion Camp for children, directed by Maureen Spahe Olson, proposed here as the director for the planned women's literacy "camps." During the children's camp, it became immediately apparent that the women were all working together comfortably and were accomplishing the goals of the camp, which were immersing the children in spoken language and providing them with appropriate cultural experiences. The Apache women participants

mentioned on several occasions that the absence of men made them more relaxed not only in their work of preparing and maintaining the campsite, but also in speaking, teaching, and attempting to write in Apache. They suggested the women's literacy camps themselves, and we have been preparing for them together.

The issues we will discuss at these camps will include the women's goals for their own literacy, the benefits they hope to acquire from literacy in the Tribal language, how they view their leadership and participant roles in the project, what level of commitment they feel comfortable in giving to the project, and, most importantly, how they feel they can contribute to the development of the literate community they are helping to crate. We will begin, we think, with a simple block exercise.

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Teaching Reading with Puppets

Ruth Bennett

In Canada and the United States today approximately 210 indigenous languages are still spoken out of the over 300 spoken before the arrival of Columbus (Krauss, 1998). However, all is not well with these remaining indigenous languages. For a language to stay alive, somebody has to be learning it. Recent research indicates that only 35 of the remaining languages in the United States and Canada are spoken by young people (Krauss, 1998).

Will these remaining languages survive? Today, children are no longer being punished routinely for speaking their language in schools. Many schools with indigenous populations, particularly on Indian Reserves and Reservations, have indigenous language programs. But having a program does not guarantee that children are learning their languages. Factors external to a language program can play a considerable role. One researcher has stated that today English language movies, television, and videotapes are doing what a century of washing mouths out with soap in boarding schools could not accomplish (Reyhner, 2000). In addition to distractions from media, the family's attitude is a factor. For many decades, it was a rare family that was in a position to do anything to retain traditional language or culture. The explanation for this is related to a need for sheer survival or to a belief that, given the long history of decline, nothing can be done stop the inevitable.

The fact is that the use of most indigenous languages in the United States has eroded and needs restoration. Effective instruction is needed in language programs to deal with a variety of issues. In this paper I offer an effective teaching method and illustrate it with a reading lesson based on native oral traditions. I take into account a range of recent research on children's language and literacy learning.

Many tribal language programs have found that the *story*, that is, the oral tradition of the tribe, connects children's reading to their lives. These tribes have a variety of ways of including content from the culture of the tribal community in their reading instruction (McCarty & Watahomigie, 1998). In California, at a recent Advocates for California Language Survival conference, led by Leanne Hinton and Nancy Steele, presentations on tribal reading programs by California tribes connected reading programs to their Native oral tradition using a variety of activities, including storybooks, accompanying videos, live dramas, puppet plays, and games (Language is Life, 4th Annual Conference, March 17-19, 2000). Although puppet making is not traditional for California tribes, puppets go hand-in-hand with traditional stories. Puppet performances harness group energy for the reading task by requiring a team of performers, a narrator, and readers. Puppet plays facilitate children's literacy development because reading traditional stories can get learners close to the rhythms of their oral language. To insure this eventuality, I retained the original spoken Hupa language in writing the puppet show for the lesson described in this paper. I changed Hupa forms in the text only when necessary for coherence.

An Approach to Language and Literacy Teaching for Native Children

Below is an example of a teaching approach centering on a puppet play based on a script from a Hupa traditional story. It is understood in tribal language programs that language and culture are linked. Those tribes who develop reading programs from a cultural perspective understand that culture is an important aspect of an indigenous students' identity and that students will become better readers when they can identify with the stories they are reading.

The Language Proficiency Method described here puts many reading strategies together. In addition to a question-answer approach and the sequencing from easy to difficult questions, this method emphasizes communication-based reading strategies, such as oral reading, group reading out loud, taking turns reading, and reading within peer groups. The six stages in the teaching sequence are listed below. At each stage, there is teacher-initiated language use, teacher questions and student responses, or student initiated language use.

1. Setting the scene. Initial introductions vary. The teacher may describe the sequence of learning and what to expect in each stage of the lesson. The teacher uses flashcards, note cards, audiotapes, and other aids to catch students' attention.
2. Comprehensible input. The teacher asks easy questions where students demonstrate comprehension but do not have to respond verbally. If they do respond verbally, they need only respond with "yes" or "no."
3. Guided practice. Students respond with yes or no by repeating what the teacher has said or by answering either-or questions.
4. Independent practice. Students supply the vocabulary term in answering the teacher's questions. Students may formulate words, phrases, and sentences.
5. Challenge. Here, students initiate activities. They read stories from their oral tradition, perform plays adapted from the stories, or they play games designed from vocabulary in the lesson.
6. Expansion. Extra-curricular activities.

A Field Study

The following description of a lesson using the Language Proficiency Method is from a high school reading lesson in Danny Ammon's first year Hupa language class on January 20, 2000. Having a well-planned lesson is essential. A major benefit of planning is that it empowers students. Planning the lesson and sharing the plan with students gives them the opportunity to talk about their "goals, plans, and available actions" (Paris, Lipson & Wixson, 1994, p. 791) while developing reading skills. Active participation helps in developing reading skills. Objectives in the lesson are to develop Hupa language proficiency by: a) developing oral reading skills, b) increasing vocabulary knowledge, c) improving grammar functions, and d) expanding story performance competencies.

The reading material for the lesson is the Misq'it Kin xotile story, a story about a young gambler from Misq'it, a village in the Hoopa Valley. Group oral

reading is the primary way of presenting this lesson. Group reading out loud requires each student to read in front of the entire class, which offers the advantage of establishing group cohesion. It requires individual students to command the attention of the entire group. Group reading is accompanied with student-initiated questions about the reading. When students initiate questions, they are already thinking about what they will be reading.

There is some current research that documents the contributions of indigenous Elders to reading programs. The article, "Nothing like a good read," is a discussion of *Success for All*, a reading program developed at Johns Hopkins University that incorporates Elders as volunteer listeners for oral reading classes (Arthurs, 2000). This article reports that, after three years, the percentage of students needing tutoring has decreased from 50% to below 30%. In addition, there has been a 10% increase in standardized reading test scores and a higher percentage of students moving on to the next grade at the end of the year. Finally, the presence of Hupa-speaking Elders is credited with putting an emphasis on proficiency and "giving the students language skills that are necessary in other subjects."

In another recent study conducted in a Navajo language program in the community school at Rough Rock, Arizona, McCarthy and Watahomogie discuss "new developments" in the program, including having "high school students engage in applied research to develop Navajo and English literacy" (1999, p. 356). In this program, the applied research consists of students working with Elders to learn drama, storytelling, and Native performing arts.

Hupa elders were the source of the reading material for this lesson, and they helped teach the class. I first heard the Misq'it Kin xotile story from Hupa language elders Fred Davis, Herman Sherman, and Ruel Leach on May 2, 1984. The story describes Hupa culture as it has been passed down through generations of Hupa speakers. It dramatizes beliefs related to winning when gambling with Indian cards and to reversing bad luck. In creating the written text, I first wrote a word-for-word transcript from an audiotape I had made. I then wrote a puppet play script from the transcript. Hupa elders James Jackson and Calvin Carpenter helped with teaching the puppet play lesson. They testified that the story is an old Hupa story and affirmed that the Hupa language in the story is correct. They talked about the importance of preserving Hupa culture, and they discussed how learning the Hupa language is essential in preserving the culture. The lesson sequence is as follows:

1. Setting the Scene. Student participation in this lesson began when I introduced the lesson to them. I explained that in the one and a half hour session, I divided the lesson into stages:

1. Setting the Scene: Introductions and plan for the lesson.
2. Comprehensible Input: Silent reading.
3. Guided Practice: Student questions.
4. Independent Practice: Students taking turns reading the story on note cards.

5. Challenge: a) Students reading the puppet show at their seats with each character reading his or her lines and the free English that follows. b) Students performing the puppet show in the puppet theatre continuing the same reading procedure with Hupa and English.
6. Expansion: Outside reading experiences: an optional stage in the method.

I explained to the students that the lesson is designed in stages to ensure that instruction proceeds in a sequenced fashion from simple to more difficult and that students build their proficiency at one stage before tackling the next one. I previewed student participation at each stage. I told them there would be opportunities for everyone to participate. In the oral reading stage, every one would read their part. All of the students would be asked to read the Hupa language as well as the English. I told them that if they could not read the Hupa language, they could substitute English. I told them it was important in the oral reading to keep the story going.

2. Comprehensible Input: Incorporating Silent Reading. The need for silent reading becomes apparent if students are asked to read out loud and are hesitant. I characterized the collective mood of this particular class as tentative. So I offered them silent reading time. Silent reading provides the opportunity for students to get involved with the text and to figure out what they do not know before their proficiency is tested. Silent reading gives them time to formulate questions. I handed out 30 cards containing the story segmented into 30 units. Each card contained Hupa language, literal translation, and free translation. Because the hesitancy remained at the end of the silent reading period, I repeated the instructions that each student take some time to read what was on their card, and I began to walk from one student to the next asking if they had any questions or if they wanted to know how to pronounce any of the words, as in the examples below:

Student: (reads a card) Minłung łoːqʼ yiditile (ten otters)
Teacher: Hayde minłung? (Are there ten?) (points at the word minłung)
Student: (nods yes)

Student: (reads from a card) Kʼiye kin nawhleːte. (I am going to gamble again.)
Teacher: Kʼiye ʻung? (Again?) (points at the word kʼiye)
Student: (nods yes)

3. Guided Practice: Student-Initiated Questions. In fact, the students did have questions. Questions have been shown to be highly effective in stimulating reading comprehension. Ruddell and Ruddell, in a study of 24 teachers and 522 K-3 students (1994) showed statistically significant reading and listening comprehension achievement gains for 2nd and 3rd graders who had teachers who asked questions and encouraged student questions over teachers who did not. Some students asked what they were supposed to read on their note cards. I explained reasons for my answers. I formulated questions based on the material contained

on the note cards to give students practice prior to the group reading. For example,

Student: (reads from note card) Tehtł'iwhne:s Tołq'ats'ding ch'isday. (The water monster lived at Supply Creek.)
Teacher: Tehtł'iwhne:s Tołq'ats'ding ch'isday 'ung? (Did the water monster live at Supply Creek?) (Teacher points at the words on the card.)
Student: Diye.

At this stage, the teacher tests student comprehension by posing yes-no questions based upon what the students have read. They can indicate comprehension and then read what is written on her card. Teacher questions are a way of monitoring comprehension of what students will be reading as a group.

4. Independent Practice: Group Oral Reading. A significant body of reading research has dealt with the importance of guessing. Guessing has been identified as one of the three primary ways to develop reading skills, the other two ways being analogizing and patterning (Ehri, 1994). Research has found that students making guesses are correct more often than they are wrong. In Goodman's miscue analysis, primary school readers during oral reading of texts made guesses that were "semantically and syntactically consistent with the text read up to that point," indicating that guesses were based on expectations (Goodman, 1965, pp. 639-643).

The independent practice stage of the lesson required students to read the sentences on their cards. Oral reading forces a student to put their reading skills on the line, so I introduced this by letting students know they had choices. I used questions like, "Who wants to Y?" and "Do you want to Y?" to allow students the choice of refusing. This dynamic works with classes where there is a degree of positive energy from the start. The Hupa language class at the high school is an elective, so it is one that students have chosen. A choice by one student helped to establish and maintain a positive momentum. He said, "I like to gamble," as a way of indicating that he wanted to read a story about a young gambler.

I told them it is important to continue on, even when they stumble, and to shift to English or to guess, rather than stop reading. The students were required to read the Hupa language and then to translate or read the English. Guessing involved pronunciation as well as making accurate free translations. Here are some examples of students reading in Hupa and then translating into English:

Student: Me'dilme' xodiłt'e:n, we're bringing him back in a boat.
Student: Łeno:ldingmił no:ch'ing'yehdiłqe:t, we're paddling past Weitchpec.

I found that when students didn't use the Hupa language they read the English translation so that the reading would continue. An illustration follows:

Student: Long water snake, (did not say) tehtł'iwhne:s.
Student: He was still breathing yet. (did not say) Xa:t na'tiłye:wh.

In these cases, students whose job was to read the Hupa language may have shifted to English due to their sense of audience. Their intention may have been to communicate the meaning of what was going on to those who would not immediately understand the Hupa language.

In the Hupa high school class, two Hupa Elders, James Jackson and Calvin Carpenter, volunteered their help with the class and to listen to the group reading. Their presence validated the Hupa language being read; they were listening carefully to what the students were reading. Having Hupa Elders present is invaluable in emphasizing indigenous culture in Hupa language classes because our Elders are the embodiment of the culture.

The presence of the Elders helps to validate the story. In answering student questions, I was able to refer questions to Elders to make the argument that the story is a true story. When a student asked, "Why do the sea lions go upriver to ~~L~~e:lding?" I told him that the mouth of the South Fork of the Trinity River is where sea lions used to go to have their little ones in the old days and that there were, in fact, sea lions in the river. I asked one of the Elders if that was so, and he said, "That's right. We used to have sea lions here."

When another student asked, "Why did the two boys happen to be there at the mouth of the Klamath?" I was able to answer: "Cleaning sweathouses used to be a job young boys did, and sweathouses used to be close to the river." Again, I asked for verification from an Elder, and again I received an affirmative response: "Men and boys used to just about live in the sweat houses. They had pillows in there and pokers for the fire—everything they needed."

5. Challenge: Group performing with puppets—Choices. Introducing this stage, I told that students about the benefits of puppet show performances. Through such performances, students can explore stories in cooperation with their peers and also improve their individual proficiencies. An individual student will exert the effort to sound out a word if the others in the class are listening to what she is saying. Individual students may be willing to work harder if there is a group goal. If a student knows that performance is the end goal, then she knows the purpose for practice. One teacher I know had worked with the class practising lines for several days prior to my appearance. This involved many repetitions of words and phrases until students felt comfortable repeating them. The work he had done with the class during the semester showed in the students' abilities to read the Hupa language and by their good behaviour. The underlying principle is that the individual stays on task in a team effort.

Research has shown the importance of student choices. Student choices in a language class, "established a common understanding of possibilities, yet permitted individual selection of what was accepted," according to a study of a high school English class in Santa Barbara (Ruddell & Ruddell, 1994). Students in this study had the opportunity to make choices. It was found that this was essential for them not only in developing common views, but also in forming individual views.

In Stage 5, students chose their roles in the story by selecting puppets that represented the characters they would portray. There was a puppet for each char-

acter. In the Misq'it Kin xotile story, the characters are as follows: Gambler from Misq'it (grown up), Young Gambler from Misq'it (younger man), Old Man who makes medicine, Big Sea Lion, Long Water Snake, Black Otters, White Otter, Two Boys, Fisherman, Old Woman, Old Woman's Daughter.

I brought out the puppets and laid them side by side on a table. When the students saw the puppets, their moods varied. They became expansive or withdrawn, depending on whether they wanted to take this next step into a performance or not. I told the students that we would choose who would take each puppet and asked if there was anyone who wanted to play the lead, either Q'unch'iwilchwil Misq'it Kin xotile, the younger gambler, or his grown up character. I held up both puppets as I gave them their Hupa names and one student said, "I like gambling. I will be the gambler". He took the grown up Misq'it Kin xotile and I scanned the class for interested looks. I asked another young man if he would like to play Q'unch'iwilchwil Misq'it Kin xotile and he indicated agreement by coming up and taking the puppet. Then, because I wanted to involve the young women in the class immediately, I asked if any of them wanted to be either Do:k'iwile, the old woman, or Whiya:ch'e, the daughter. Two volunteers took these puppets, and I held up K'iwingxoya:n, looking for a volunteer, and so on until all the puppets were assigned.

Then I told the students that we would be reading and performing. I told them that, in the first phase, students would read the puppet show at their seats with each character reading his/her lines and the free English that follows, and then, in the second phase, students would perform the puppet show in the puppet theatre continuing the same reading procedure with Hupa and English. At this point, I got out an entire script so that a student who had not chosen a character could be the master reader, coordinating the students lines in case they became confused.

The reading and puppet performance went well. When the students were finished, there was a feeling of accomplishment. In a study of language and literacy development, McGee and Richgels emphasize the importance of group reading experiences and of "playful activities in which children tell stories, act out stories," and use reading and writing (1996, p. 216). McGee and Richgels analyze the success of these activities on the basis that "children tell their stories, other children are the audience, and they are free to make comments or ask questions" (p. 242).

A second value of a puppet show performance is the way in which it incorporates spontaneity into group reading. Even though the students have a script, they either recite the Hupa words or they present an English translation. Sometimes, they will use words that occur to them. For example, Misq'it Kin xotile interjected a line, saying: "na:ne:lay" (I won). The script did not have a line for him at this point. It called for K'iwingxoya:n, the old man, to say: "aht'ingq'a'unt'e na'usdilay" (he won everything). When another student objected that he was not supposed to say "na:ne:lay," he responded, "Why not? I did win." Because his argument was valid and his line fit into the plot, his spontaneous line was accepted.

Vivian Paley has described the value of spontaneous interaction in storytelling activities. In one compelling narrative about her years as a teacher, she relates how she combined storytelling and play in an activity where she played a role and where she accepted revisions to stories as they occurred because of the value of spontaneity: "In storytelling, as in play, the social interactions we call interruptions usually improve the narrative" (Paley, 1990, p. 242).

6. Expansion: The Hoopa Community Class. This stage is optional and generally occurs in activities outside of the classroom. In the Hoopa community, there is a weekly all-community class available to high school students. The Elders present in the classroom were teachers in this community class, so I took the opportunity to invite the high school students to the community class for further work with the elders. I explained that this class meets once a week in the evenings with Elders present to answer questions and to spontaneously generate language.

The importance of the community class is to provide support for the language classes in the public schools and colleges, as well as to encourage community people. The class proceeds with a conversational approach, and I work in grammar teaching in relation to conversation that students are learning. Motivational incentives for attending the class include its easy going atmosphere and having food. Students are not graded in the class, so they are released from the stress of being on task all of the time. Eating together in the community class provides another opportunity for spontaneous language use. The community class offers the chance to demonstrate proficiency in a community setting.

Conclusion

I suggest that reading instruction is an essential component in the curriculum, and further, that the oral tradition of the indigenous culture can enhance rather than inhibit reading programs. In this paper, I discussed the use of the Language Proficiency Method with high school students. My experiences with this method in the Hupa language program has implications for other indigenous language programs relative to three areas of development:

1. The development of academic discourse proficiencies: The narrative is an "early form" in terms of its acquisition by young children, and its usefulness continues throughout every level of education for indigenous language students because narrative is the basic form of education in indigenous language communities.
2. The development of second language proficiency: Reading is an important medium for indigenous language revitalization purposes for developing language proficiency in those students who don't speak the indigenous language (Heredia & Francis, 1997).
3. Cognitive development: Narrative performance incorporates a pragmatic approach that uses a traditional vehicle from the indigenous culture in teaching an important aspect of academic proficiency.

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Assessing Lakota Language Teaching Issues on the Cheyenne River Reservation

Marion BlueArm

Currently, the Lakota language in South Dakota is facing a process of attrition similar to that affecting many Native languages in the world. Lakotas about 40 years or older still tend to be fluent speakers, while the younger generations can, typically, understand the language but not speak it fluently. Many children can barely understand Lakota, and they tend not to speak it because it is not "cool." Lakota is being replaced by English, the language of multi-media and modern life.

Joshua Fishman (1991, 1996a, 1996b), an expert on language revitalization, argues that any language decline can only be reversed if the language re-emerges in its Native communities as the mother tongue. Surviving speakers need to discipline themselves so that they converse with their children exclusively in the language, which will allow children once again to acquire the language largely unconsciously and automatically. Speakers have to aim to conduct all daily communication in the home in the language.

In the formal education system, children should be immersed in the target language as early as possible. This notion is supported by research, which suggests that spontaneous language acquisition usually stops around the age of puberty. In later years, students require increasingly analytical instruction based on grammar. Language learning then becomes a highly conscious effort (Saville-Troike, 1981).

Some Demographic Information

The Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation is located in north central South Dakota and covers around 2,900,000 acres—about the size of Connecticut. About 1,401,000 of these acres are tribal land or acres of tribal trust land. It takes two to three hours by car to travel from the east end of the reservation to the west end or from north to south. The total Indian population of 12,861 people (1990 census) consists mainly of members of four bands of Teton Lakota: the Minneconju (or Hohwoju), the Sihasapa (Blackfoot), Oohenupa (Two Kettle), and the Itazipco (Without Bows). Tribal headquarters is at the centrally located town of Eagle Butte. There are 13 voting precincts, encompassing 25 communities.[1] Typically, the more outlying the communities, the more tradition and language they retain. Communities include: White Horse, La Plant, and Swift Bird on the east end; Thunder Butte and Iron Lightning in the central area; Timber Lake and Isabel in the north; and Red Scaffold, Cherry Creek, and Bridger in the south west.

The Research

In the spring of 1999, I conducted a survey to assess the ideas, feelings, and attitudes of community members on the reservation concerning language issues (see Appendix for survey). I chose Eagle Butte, Bridger, and Red Scaffold as the target areas. The purpose of the study was to obtain data for the possible

establishment of a Lakota immersion program in Head Start and the early elementary grades. In preliminary interviews, interest had been expressed by school administrators to pilot such a program at the Head Start Centre and the Cheyenne Eagle Butte School if community desire was high and outside funding could be secured.

Residents of three communities, comprised of Native American households, non-Native American households (primarily Caucasian), and households with people of mixed heritage, were surveyed in order to evaluate their beliefs concerning Lakota language instruction in the school system, pre-school through grade 12. Four survey items were demographic, assessing gender, age-range, ethnic household composition, and age-ranges of children. Survey items one to seven were responded to on a Likert scale, with the choices *strongly agree*, *agree*, *undecided*, *disagree*, and *strongly disagree*. Items 12-16 were multiple choice questions. Respondents were asked to choose the answer most true to their believes or circumstances. Items 17 and 18 were open-ended opinion questions that were answered in short narrative form.

One hundred fifty surveys were hand delivered to random households, and 88 were returned, which equals a 59% return rate. Table 1 on the following page summarizes return statistics.

Around 20% of all children of respondents were of early elementary age, upper elementary age, and middle/high school age respectively. Over 80% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with issues that support language preservation efforts. They believed that children should learn to understand, speak, read, and write their Native Lakota language, that there should be bilingual education or immersion at all school levels, and that Lakota should return as an everyday spoken language. Eighty percent said they would enrol their child in an immersion classroom, while only 4% thought they would not. More than three-fourths of all respondents felt that a Lakota who can speak the Native language has more of a cultural identity than a Lakota who cannot. Yet about half of the respondents reported teaching little or no Lakota to their children at the present time, and only 16% answered "completely" or "a lot." These results strongly suggest the need for a Lakota language program on Cheyenne River to keep the language alive.

To assess whether a positive relationship could be established between gender, household composition, age of respondent, and age group of respondents' children and the respondents' answer choices for each item, each survey item was examined in more detail. Tables 2 and 3 illustrate survey results for items 1 through 16.

Items 12 through 16 requested an opinion of respondents pertaining to the intensity of Lakota instruction in the schools. An obvious preference for bilingual education over all other methods remained the same for items 15 and 16.

It can be noted that more than half of all lower and upper elementary children would benefit from a bilingual classroom setting. Together, these are 35 students or 54% of the total 65 children in these age groups. If an immersion program could be combined with a partial immersion program, a total of 24 additional

Table 1. Summary of return statistics.

Community	No. of Surveys Sent	No. Returned	Percent Returned
Red Scaffold	10	5	50%
Cherry Creek	40	22	55%
Eagle Butte	100	61	61%
TOTAL	150	88	59%
Demographics:			
Age of Respondents	No. of Respondents		Percent of Total
Younger than 20	4		5%
20-30	25		28%
30-40	28		32%
40-50	20		23%
50-60	7		8%
60-70	3		3%
Older than 70	1		1%
TOTAL	88		100%
Household Composition	No. of Respondents		Percent of Total
Lakota	41		46%
Mixed	43		49%
Other	4		5%
TOTAL	88		100%
Gender	No. of Respondents		Percent of Total
Male	32		36%
Female	56		64%
TOTAL	88		100%
Ages of Children	No. of Respondents		Percent of Total
3-5	36		22%
6-9	32		20%
10-12	33		21%
13-17	37		23%
None	23		14%
TOTAL	88		100%

students in both age groups would benefit: 13 in the younger group and 11 in the upper elementary level.

Demographic Information on Respondents

It remains to be examined whether differences can be noted when responses are compared according to gender, household composition, the ages of

participants, and the ages of their children. Only the agree (strongly agree and agree) and other positive or confirming answers were juxtaposed in this analysis.

For items 12 through 16, I chose the categories that showed the highest percentage of total responses. For example, in item 12, most participants felt that immersion should continue one to five years or at age six through nine; in item 13, most respondents thought that immersion should begin at the age of three to five

Gender of respondents: No significant discrepancy between males and females could be found.

Ages of respondents: Although most respondents were 30 to 40 years old, percentage-wise, most agreement answers were given by those 40 to 50 years old for items 1 through 11. This suggests a high interest in the maintenance of the Lakota language in this age group, which represents the last generation of mostly fluent speakers.

For items 12-16, the overall percentage rate of agreement answers dropped to include the younger age groups; however, in items 14-16, those who defended immersion instruction in each school level (elementary through high school) were again 40 to 50 years old. On the other hand, those respondents who felt that bilingual education would serve children best at all three school levels were 20 to 30 years old. This result suggests that the younger age group values the importance of instruction in English alongside Native language education.

Household composition: No significant differences were found for household composition concerning items 1 through 7 and 12 through 16. For survey items 8 through 11, however, the majority of those who answered *completely* or *a lot* were from Lakota households. Likewise, a higher percentage of Lakota household members than respondents from mixed households chose immersion instruction for questions 14 to 16.

Ages of children in the household: In survey items 1 through 7, people who have children in the age groups 6 through 12 responded with the highest percentage of *strongly agree* or *agree*. This corresponds to the elementary and middle school level. All parents agreed, with at least 81%, to each of these survey items (1 through 7).

Items 8 through 11 received the highest percentage rate for *completely* or *a lot* from parents of 10 to 12-year-old upper elementary school students. For items 12 through 16, no relationship could be established between ages of children in the household and survey responses by their caregivers. Percentages were very similar from one item to another and across the age groups of children.

Items 17 and 18 consisted of open-ended narrative questions, designed to allow respondents to formulate their answers more critically and creatively. Responses to these questions were listed and then organized under several subheadings or subjects. For example, for survey question 17, "Would you teach Lakota to your child to support language teaching efforts by the school(s)," five participants wrote statements that I sub-categorized under the heading *save language*.

Items 17 and 18 were analyzed according to gender of the respondent, age, and household composition, again, to determine if any of these factors compared favourably to the response or type of response. The relationship between ages of children and responses was not examined.

Question 17

Below is a chart mapping the frequency distribution of choices for survey item 17 in diminishing order:

"I would teach Lakota to my child at home to support language teaching efforts by the schools because":

Language equals culture	21 responses
No content (just yes)	13 responses
It's important to teach language	10 responses
If I can (adult language ability)	7 responses
Because home best for teaching/learning language	6 responses
To learn the language and understand	6 responses
No, or not able to answer	6 responses
To save language	5 responses
No response	5 responses
Other (does not fit into any of the other categories)	4 responses
To understand/communicate with elderly	3 responses
Would be willing to, but can not	3 responses

Five people did not respond to item 17, which means that 77 participants (88%) are at least willing to teach the language at home. The majority of these, 24%, believed it is important to save the Lakota language in order to preserve the culture. Twenty-five percent of the male participants answered under this category and 23% of the females; 27% were from Lakota households, and 21% were from mixed households. The majority of respondents were 30 to 40 years old.

Also, responses indicated that at least 10 participants (11% under subheadings 3 and 12) would teach the language if they could, which further suggests a need for Lakota instruction. Ten additional respondents (8%) considered learning Lakota important without offering further explanations, and at least five respondents (6%) felt that they would teach Lakota at home because the language needs to be preserved or saved.

Gender of respondents: No relationship could be determined between the gender of respondents and their answer choices for item 17. Yet it should be noted that only females gave responses that were assigned to categories four (elderly), five (to learn/ understand), eight (willing but not able), and nine (other). Responses by females matched all categories.

Household composition: As for gender, no consistent pattern was noted between household composition and survey responses. Six of the categories received most responses from members of Lakota households, and the six remaining categories received the most answers from respondents living in mixed

Table 2. Survey Results for Questions 1-16 by Gender and Heritage

#	Item or Question	Answer Choices	Total Whole Numbers	Male	Female	Lakota	Mixed	Other
1	Children should learn to speak and understand Lakota	Agree Disagree	84=95% 0	31=97% 0	53=95% 0	40=97% 0	40=92% 0	4=100% 0
2	Children should learn to read and write Lakota	Agree Disagree	79=90% 0	29=91% 0	50=89% 0	38=93% 0	37=86% 0	4=100% 0
3	If there was an immersion classroom, I would enroll my child	Agree Disagree	70=80% 4=4%	27=84% 0	43=77% 4=4%	33=88% 2=4%	33=77% 2=5%	1=25% 0
4	There should be a Lakota Immersion Head Start group	Agree Disagree	77=88% 3=3%	28=88% 0	49=87% 3=6%	36=87% 2=5%	39=91% 1=2%	2=50% 0
5	There should be Lakota immersion in the elementary schools	Agree Disagree	75=85% 5=6%	29=91% 0	46=82% 5=9%	37=90% 2=5%	36=84% 3=7%	2=50% 0
6	I wish Lakota came back as an everyday spoken language	Agree Disagree	78=89% 6=7%	28=87% 1=3%	50=89% 5=9%	37=90% 3=7%	39=91% 3=7%	2=50% 0
7	A Lakota speaking Lakota has more of a cultural identity	Agree Disagree	72=82% 12=14%	27=84% 4=13%	45=80% 8=14%	32=78% 6=15%	36=84% 6=14%	4=100% 0
8	I am Teaching Lakota to my children at home	Yes* No*	14=16% 24=27%	5=16% 8=25%	9=16% 16=28%	9=22% 7=17%	4=9% 15=35%	1=25% 2=50%
9	I can understand Lakota	Yes No	42=47% 11=13%	20=63% 4=12%	22=39% 7=13%	26=63% 2=5%	15=35% 7=16%	1=25% 2=50%
10	I can speak Lakota	Yes No	36=41% 22=25%	19=60% 5=16%	17=30% 17=30%	22=54% 7=17%	13=30% 12=28%	1=25% 3=75%
11	I can read and write Lakota	Yes No	24=27% 28=32%	11=34% 6=19%	13=23% 22=39%	14=34% 8=19%	10=24% 17=39%	0 3=75%
12	If, how many years should immersion continue?	None 1-12 Years 13 Years to Life	7=8% 59=67% 22=25%	2=6% 21=66% 9=28%	5=9% 38=68% 13=23%	3=7% 28=69% 10=24%	3=7% 29=67% 11=26%	1=25% 2=50% 1=25%
13	At what age should immersion begin?	None Birth to 5 6 +	5=6% 79=90% 4=4%	1=3% 30=94% 1=3%	4=7% 49=87% 3=6%	2=5% 37=91% 2=4%	2=5% 39=90% 2=5%	1=25% 3=75% 0
14	How much Lakota, if any, should be taught in Head Start?	Immersion Bilingual None	37=42% 46=52% 1=1%	14=44% 16=50% 0	23=41% 30=53% 1=2%	19=46% 19=46% 0	18=42% 23=54% 1=2%	0 4=100% 0
15	How should Lakota be taught in the elementary school(s)?	Immersion Biling./Part Biling. Foreign Lang.	9=10% 63=72% 14=16%	5=15% 20=63% 6=19%	4=7% 43=77% 8=14%	4=10% 30=73% 6=15%	5=12% 31=72% 6=14%	0 2=50% 2=50%
16	How should Lakota be taught in high school?	Immersion Bilingual Foreign Lang.	8=9% 38=43% 8=21%	5=15% 14=44% 6=19%	3=5% 24=43% 12=21%	6=15% 20=49% 5=12%	2=5% 16=37% 11=26%	0 2=50% 2=50%

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Table 3. Survey Results for Questions 1-16 by Age

		Age Groups							Ages of Children				
Item	Choices	20-	20-30	30-40	40-50	50-60	60-70	70+	2-5	6-9	10-12	13-17	None
1	Agree	3 = 75%	23=92%	27=97%	20=100%	7=100%	3=100%	1=100%	34=94%	32=100%	33=100%	35=97%	23=96%
	Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	Agree	3=75%	22=88%	26=93%	19=95%	6=86%	2=67%	1=100%	33=92%	30=94%	31=94%	35=97%	20=87%
	Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	Agree	2=50%	19=76%	23=82%	18=90%	5=71%	3=100%	0	29=81%	29=91%	29=88%	31=86%	17=74%
	Disagree	0	2=8%	1=4%	0	0	0	1=100%	2=5%	0	1=3%	2=6%	1=4%
4	Agree	3=75%	21=84%	25=89%	19=95%	7=100%	3=100%	1=100%	31=86%	31=97%	31=94%	32=86%	20=87%
	Disagree	0	1=4%	2=7%	0	0	0	0	2=6%	0	1=3%	2=6%	0
5	Agree	3=75%	19=76%	24=83%	19=95%	7=100%	3=100%	0	30=84%	31=97%	31=94%	33=89%	18=78%
	Disagree	0	3=12%	1=4%	0	0	0	1=100%	2=6%	0	2=6%	2=6%	1=4%
6	Agree	3=75%	21=84%	24=86%	19=95%	7=100%	3=100%	1=100%	31=86%	31=97%	32=97%	33=89%	21=91%
	Disagree	0	4=16%	2=7%	0	0	0	0	4=11%	0	1=3%	2=6%	1=4%
7	Agree	2=50%	19=76%	23=82%	18=90%	6=86%	3=100%	1=100%	31=86%	28=88%	29=88%	29=78%	17=74%
	Disagree	1=25%	5=20%	3=11%	2=10%	1=14%	0	0	3=8%	2=6%	3=9%	6=16%	5=22%
8	Yes	0	1=4%	4=14%	5=25%	2=28%	1=33%	0	5=14%	4=14%	5=16%	8=21%	3=13%
	No	3=75%	11=44%	5=18%	3=15%	1=14%	0	1=100%	8=22%	4=12%	6=12%	4=11%	12=52%
9	Yes	1=25%	5=20%	14=50%	13=65%	5=71%	3=100%	1=100%	17=47%	17=52%	21=66%	20=54%	8=35%
	No	2=50%	6=24%	3=11%	1=5%	0	0	0	6=17%	5=16%	4=12%	3=8%	3=13%
10	Yes	0	4=16%	13=46%	12=60%	5=71%	3=67%	0	15=42%	15=47%	19=58%	20=54%	6=26%
	No	2=50%	12=32%	7=18%	2=10%	0	0	0	12=33%	9=28%	6=18%	6=16%	6=26%
11	Yes	0	3=12%	7=25%	6=30%	3=43%	2=67%	0	12=33%	10=31%	9=27%	11=30%	5=22%
	No	3=75%	14=56%	6=21%	2=10%	1=14%	1=33%	1=100%	14=39%	8=25%	7=21%	8=10%	10=43%
12	None	0	2=8%	2=7%	2=10%	0	0	1=100%	2=6%	0	2=6%	4=11%	2=9%
	1-12 Years	3=75%	17=68%	16=57%	15=75%	6=86%	2=67%	0	26=72%	24=74%	23=70%	13=42%	16=69%
	13 Yr-Life	1=25%	6=24%	10=36%	3=15%	1=14%	1=33%	0	7=20%	8=26%	8=24%	10=27%	5=22%
13	None	0	2=8%	2=7%	1=5%	0	0	0	2=6%	0	1=3%	3=8%	1=4%
	Birth to 5	4=100%	22=88%	25=89%	17=85%	7=100%	3=100%	1=100%	33=92%	32=100%	31=94%	31=84%	21=92%
	5+	0	1=4%	1=4%	2=10%	0	0	0	0	0	1=3%	3=8%	1=4%
14	Immersion	1=25%	8=32%	11=39%	13=65%	3=43%	1=33%	0	13=42%	13=47%	16=48%	16=43%	10=44%
	Bilingual	2=50%	16=64%	15=54%	6=30%	4=57%	2=67%	1=100%	18=58%	15=53%	16=48%	18=49%	12=52%
	None	1=25%	0	2=7%	1=5%	0	0	0	1=3%	0	0	0	0
15	Immersion	0	0	5=18%	2=10%	1=14%	1=33%	0	1=3%	4=13%	3=9%	3=8%	3=13%
	Bilng/Part.Il.	2=50%	20=80%	17=61%	16=80%	5=72%	2=64%	1=100%	28=78%	25=78%	27=82%	26=70%	16=70%
	Foreign Lang.	1=25%	3=20%	2=18%	2=10%	1=14%	1=33%	0	7=19%	3=9%	3=9%	7=19%	3=13%
16	Immersion	0	0	3=11%	3=15%	2=29%	0	0	2=6%	5=16%	3=9%	2=5%	2=9%
	Bilingual	1=25%	12=48%	11=39%	9=45%	5=71%	0	0	20=56%	17=53%	18=53%	19=51%	5=22%
	Foreign Lang.	1=25%	0	1=4%	0	0	0	0	8=22%	2=6%	5=15%	7=19%	7=30%

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Lakota and white homes. However, number five, "I would teach Lakota to my children to promote learning and understanding," received replies from all female Lakota household members between the ages of 20 and 60. The percentages of Lakota household members versus mixed household respondents were close for most other categories. Number four, *elderly*, received answers from a much higher percentage of Lakota household members than mixed household members, while number seven, *because it's important*, received a higher percentage of responses from mixed household members. Again, the category *other* was not considered because its low response rate distorted percentages.

Ages of respondents: Age groups 30 to 40 and 40 to 50 were represented consistently throughout all the categories. The answers of respondents younger than 20 fell only under the second category, *language equals culture*. None of the responses by 20 to 30 year olds could be catalogued under categories one (*to save language*), three (because *language is culture*), or four (*because home is best for teaching the language*). Thirty to 40 year olds gave a high number of responses under categories two and three. These items had partially different content, but the responses indicate that 30 year olds have an understanding of the fact that language is vital to culture and that home is an important language learning environment. This becomes more significant when considering that these 30 some year olds are the parent generation of pre-school and elementary age children, the very age group to be targeted by the pilot language program.

Question 18

Below is a chart showing the frequency distribution of choices for survey item 18:

"A teacher should have the following qualifications to teach language":	
Lakota fluency	26 responses (of the total 88)
Literacy in Lakota	15 responses
Lakota fluency and teaching skills	13 responses
No response given	11 responses
Teaching degree and Lakota language	10 responses
Teaching degree	9 responses
Fluency and culture/ traditions	6 responses
Cultural knowledge/ traditions	3 responses
Be Indian and traditional values	3 responses
No specific qualifications mentioned	3 responses
Teaching skills	2 responses
Be a parent/ grandparent	2 responses
Teaching degree and be Lakota	1 response
Fullblood and good education	1 response
Fullblood with language and culture	1 response
Be elderly	1 response
Have commitment	1 response
Other	1 response

Totalling the answers that mention the same qualities, 56 community members (64% under subheadings 3, 4, 6, 7, and 11) considered fluency in the Lakota language the most important qualification to teach the Lakota language. Fifteen respondents (17% under categories 5 and 6) felt that teaching skills were necessary, while an additional 20 (23% under subheadings 1, 2, and 3) believed that a formal degree is needed. This adds up to 35 individuals (40%) who advocate the necessity of possessing either teaching skills or a formal degree to teach Lakota. Ten respondents (11%) considered knowledge of culture essential and a total of 12 people (14%) considered following traditions important. However, these two categories overlap because some individuals mentioned culture and traditions in the same answer. Six people (7%) felt that Lakota language teachers should be Indian, and 2 of them (2%) thought teachers need to be full-bloods.

Results suggest that Cheyenne River residents from the surveyed communities consider teaching skills coupled with fluency and literacy in the language the most important teaching qualifications for a Lakota language teacher.

Gender of respondents: There is some consistency when analyzing answers under each sub-category according to gender (for item 18). A higher percentage of females than males believed that a Lakota teacher should have a teaching degree: 29% of females versus 12% of males (combined from categories 1, 2, and 3). Nineteen percent of males and 19% of females mentioned teaching skills (as separate from teaching degree, combined from categories 5 and 6) as a necessary requirement. Those who felt that fluency in Lakota is crucial were predominantly male, except for under subheading 3. Under this subheading, the combination with *teaching degree* had more female respondents.

Findings suggest that females are more interested in a teacher having a formal degree than males and that they are slightly more interested in a teacher having teaching skills over other qualities. Also, more females than males (combined from categories 2, 9, 10, and 11), 10% versus 6%, felt that being Indian, Lakota, or a full-blood should be a prerequisite to becoming a Lakota language teacher. Yet the 3% of individuals who mentioned being a full-blood were male versus the 2% of females. Those respondents who selected language skills as the most desirable qualification were predominantly male: 68% versus 61%. There was an equal distribution of respondents who felt that traditional or cultural practices are important in the lives of language teachers—12% males compared to 12% females.

Household composition: As for gender, a slight pattern was noted when comparing the ethnic composition of respondents" households and respondents' answers to question 18. More members of Lakota households (29%) than of mixed Lakota/non-Lakota households (19%, combined from categories 1, 2, and 3) believed that a teaching degree would be necessary to teach the language. In contrast, 23% of mixed household members (combined responses from categories 5 and 6) specifically mentioned teaching skills as necessary versus only 9% from Lakota households.

The same tendency held true for the respondents who included knowledge of the Lakota language as a crucial qualification. Sixty-six percent (combined

from categories 3, 4, 6, 7, and 11) were from mixed households versus 60% from Lakota households. It may be that Lakota household members take knowledge of Lakota more as a given characteristic that a Lakota language teacher would possess. Fifteen respondents specifically mentioned literacy skills in the Lakota language (category 18). Nineteen percent of all mixed household members and 17% of all Lakota household members found Lakota literacy crucial to teach the language. This result needs to be viewed with caution because many respondents who mentioned proficiency or complete knowledge of Lakota may have included literacy in their thought.

Eighteen percent of respondents (combined from categories 7, 8, 9, and 11) who believed that knowledge of culture and practice of traditions should be characteristic of teachers were from Lakota households, while 10% were from mixed households. Eleven percent of Lakota household members (combined from categories 2, 9, 10, and 11) felt that a teacher of the language should be Indian compared to only 2% from mixed households. Of these, one person from a Lakota household and one from a mixed household thought that a teacher should be full-blood. One individual in each group thought that teachers should be parents or grandparents themselves.

These findings suggest that Lakota household members believed more adamantly that teachers should have formal education with a degree, that they should be Indian or full-blood (9% versus 2% from mixed households), and that they should follow their culture and traditions. In contrast, community members residing in households made up of a mixture of Lakota and non-Lakota on the average found it more important than respondents from Lakota households that language instructors demonstrate adequate teaching skills, that they be literate in the language, and that they be fluent Lakota language speakers.

Ages of respondents: No consistent pattern was noted when linking age to type of response because the highest percentage of answers was evenly distributed for 20 to 50 year olds for all subheadings, one through 18. Yet only 40 to 50 year olds mentioned *Lakota fluency and teaching skills*, to be *elderly*, and to be a *parent or grandparent* in their responses. *Lakota fluency* and *Lakota fluency and teaching skills* as teacher qualifications were desired by a significantly higher percentage of 40 to 50 year olds than by the other age groups. Hence, 40 to 50 year olds dominated in their wish for a teaching degree or teaching skills and Lakota fluency. Twenty to 30 year olds were the only age group that listed *teaching skills*, *be a full-blood with a good education*, and have *commitment* as their requirements for a language teacher.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The majority of positive answers indicated respondent agreement with the establishment of intensified Lakota language education for all school levels on the Cheyenne River Reservation, both by quality and duration. It is fortunate that the majority of respondents who agreed with expanded Lakota language education at all school levels were 40 to 50 year olds with children between the early elementary and middle school level—precisely the age group that holds

most of the key office positions with decision making power within the structure of tribal government. At the same time, it is unfortunate that people around their 30s, and especially the youth, do not think more highly of language revitalization issues, possibly not recognizing their urgency.

Survey respondents indicated a slight preference for bilingual education as compared to immersion programs. Research suggests, however, that complete exposure to a language, as is only possible in immersion classrooms, results in the quickest and most complete language learning in young children (Wilson & Kamana, 1996; Yamauchi & Ceppi, 1998). Therefore, I suggest that more information sessions are needed to inform the general public of these findings and to assure increasing support for immersion programs. As the second choice of all surveyed community members, immersion still received enough positive responses to make the initiation of a pilot project in Head Start and the lower elementary level a likely success at this time.

For the upper elementary, middle school, and high school level, survey results, supported by second language acquisition research (Saville-Troike, 1981), suggest that a program teaching Lakota for a set number of hours per week would receive enough student enrolment to be justified. It needs to be mentioned that a number of respondents also suggested partial immersion and bilingual education in high school. However, second language acquisition studies support a more structured program for older students (Saville-Troike, 1981).

To revernacularize Lakota, drastic changes are necessary. As Joshua Fishman has explained repeatedly, this requires a tremendous amount of self discipline to be exercised by every community member. English has to be made inaccessible in certain contexts. Ideally, there should be whole buildings and events where only Lakota can and will be spoken. People should voluntarily ban television and other forms of modern media entertainment from their homes, at least for certain hours or within certain contexts. Additional steps should include immersion youth camps, public advertising on billboards in Lakota, announcement boards in office buildings, street signs, storefront signs, local radio stations, newspaper(s), and local Public Access TV in Lakota. Store clerks and office personnel should greet their clients in Lakota. And, finally, Lakota immersion needs to gain public support and to be implemented in the schools.

Notes

[1]Bear Creek, Blackfoot, Bridger, Cherry Creek, Dupree, Eagle Butte, Firesteel, Glad Valley, Glencross, Green Grass, Iron Lightning, Isabel, Lantry, LaPlant, On the Trees, Parade, Promise, Red Elm, Red Scaffold, Ridgeview, Swift Bird, Timber Lake, Thunder Butte, Trail City, White Horse.

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Appendix

Lakota Language Survey

I have children in the following age group(s)
__ 3-5 __ 6-9 __ 10-12 __ 13-17 __ none in these age groups

Please read the following item carefully and rate them on a 5- point scale as indicated by circling the number of the best response. Example: if you strongly agree - circle 1, if you agree - circle 2, undecided - circle 3, disagree - circle 4, and strongly disagree - circle 4. Please reply to all the items.

1. Children should learn how to speak and understand Lakota. 1 2 3 4 5
2. Children should learn how to read and write Lakota. 1 2 3 4 5
3. If there was an immersion classroom offered, I would enroll my child. 1 2 3 4 5
4. There should be a Lakota immersion Head Start group. 1 2 3 4 5
5. There should be a Lakota immersion project in the elementary school(s). 1 2 3 4 5
6. I wish Lakota came back as an everyday spoken language. 1 2 3 4 5
7. A Lakota person able to speak Lakota has more of a cultural identity than a Lakota who only speaks English. 1 2 3 4 5

For the following items, please circle 1 for completely, 2 for a lot, 3 for to some, 4 for a little, and 5 for not at all.

8. I am teaching Lakota to my children at home. 1 2 3 4 5
9. I can understand Lakota. 1 2 3 4 5
10. I can speak Lakota. 1 2 3 4 5
11. I can read and write Lakota. 1 2 3 4 5

For the next items, please check only one choice per question.

12. If you believe there should be immersion, how many years should it continue?
    __ There should be no immersion
    __ Immersion should be taught for ___ years.
13. At what age should immersion instruction begin? Age: _____
    __ There should be no immersion instruction
14. How should Lakota be taught in Head Start?
    __ All interaction should occur in Lakota (Immersion)
    __ Lakota and English should both be used in the classroom (Bilingual Education)
    __ Lakota should not be taught in Head Start
    __ Other

15. How should Lakota be taught in the elementary school(s)?
__ All subjects (math, language arts, etc.) should be taught in Lakota (Immersion)
__ Classes should be taught using Lakota and English (Bilingual)
__ Early grades should be taught all in Lakota, in higher grades some classes should be taught in English, some in Lakota
__ Lakota should be taught as a subject so many times a week, as you would a foreign language
__ Lakota should not be taught in the elementary school(s)
__ Other
_____

16. How should Lakota be taught in high school?
__ All subjects should be taught in Lakota (Immersion)
__ Some classes/subjects should be taught in Lakota, the others in English
__ At least some classes should be taught using both Lakota and English as the language of instruction (Bilingual)
__ Lakota should be taught as a subject, as you would a foreign language
__ Lakota should not be taught in High School
__ Other
_____

17. At home, would you help teach Lakota to your child to support language teaching efforts by the school(s)? Why or why not?
_____
_____
_____

18. What qualifications should a teacher have to teach Lakota language?
_____
_____
_____
_____

What is your household composition?
__ Lakota __ white __ mixed __ other

Please indicate your age group?
__ Younger than 20 __ 20-30 __ 30-40 __ 40-50 __ 50-60
__ 60-70 __ Over 70

I am __ male __ female

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR RESPONSE

Incorporating Traditional Nehiyaw/Plains Cree Education in the University

Myron Paskemin, Donna Paskemin (editor)

The following two linked pre-contact stories were obtained through the traditional Nehiyaw/Plains Cree protocol. The stories were told by Myron Paskemin, Resident Elder of the School of Native Studies at the University of Alberta, to a Cree language class during the winter of 1999. It was later audio-recorded and transcribed. The English translation and the Cree editing were conducted in partnership with the Elder.

The length of the recording was a brief 20 minutes. In reality, it would have taken days to tell the full-length story. The stories were a component of a graduating paper for a Masters of Education degree with the University of British Columbia in 1999. The author of the paper is Donna Paskemin. The protocol component in relation to these stories, in a series of lectures conducted by the Elder as a guest lecturer, could be obtained through the CINSA 2000 (Canadian Indigenous/Native Studies Association) conference proceedings published through the School of Native Studies, University of Alberta.

Myron shared these two pre-contact stories about how the Nehiyaw/Plains Cree acquired the horse and the buffalo. These stories are very old, handed down through the generations through the oral traditions of the Nehiyawak/Plains Cree.

Pre-Contact Stories as Told by Myron Paskemin

Donna: Tânisi, awa ôta kâ-wî-pîkiskwêhâyâhk Myron Paskemin, nohtâwiy, kêhtê-aya, ê-kakwêcimâyâhk ka-wîhtamâkoyâhk, aya âcimowina anihi nîso pâmwayês môniyâs ôta kâ-kî-takohtêt, êkosi anima, kiya êkwa

Myron: Kayâs, kayâs êtikwê ôki nêhiyawak ôtê ê-kî-hayâcik Nêhiyaw Sâkahikanihk,

êkotê nistam ê-kî-ohpikihitot.

Êkwa ê-kî-~, kêtahtawê êsa pêyak kâ-nihtâwikit awâsis, ê-wâpâsot.

Êkwa, êkw êkwa, êkota ê-kî-wîci-ohpikîmât wîscâsa.

Kêtahtawê êsa ê-oskinîkicik,

"Hâw! niwî-sipwêhtân, niwî-papâmi-wâpahtên askiy, niwî-isi-sipwêhtân!" itêw êsa.

Ê-miyoskaminiyik êkwa, kâ-sipwêhtêt.

Hâw êkwa, nâkatêyihtam ôma itê ê-isi-sipwêhtêt.

Kêtahtawê kâ-otihtahk sîpihk.

Mihtwat êkwa osîhtâw.

Wiya ê-kî-kwêyâci-sipwêhtatât êsa ôhi pîsâkanâpîsa.

Êkoni ôhi ohci-tahkopitam ôma mihtwat.

Ê-asiwahahk.

Nâkês mêtoni ê-hayât, nama-kîkway sakâw.

Nayêstaw êsa ê-paskwâyik, wêpahcâyiw.

Kâ-wâpamât êsa paskwâw-mostoswa êsa ôhi êkoni.

Pisiskiwa ôhi wâpamêw.

Wahwâ, koskwâpisin! ê-wâpamât, nawac kî-kostêw.
Hâw, nâkatôhkêw êkwa kâwi êkwa, kâ-âsê-kîwêt.
Tâpwê, mêtoni ê-takwâkiniyik takohtêw nêtê.
Âcimostawêw wîscâsa, "hâw' kwayask êkwa niwî-wawêyîn, miyoskamikohk wîpac
niwî-sipwêhtân, wî-wîcêwiyani," êsa itêw.
Tâpwê êkwa wawêyîwak, êkwa nâkatôhkêw kîkwây ôma kitâpacihtâcik.
Hâw, tâpwê êkwa kâ-sipwêhtêcik, kâwi êkwa êkotê.
Âh, pêyakwan êkwa êkosi itohtamwak mihtwat osîhtâwak.
Wâh, sêsêskêyimêyiwa êkwa wîscâsa ôhi kika-wâpamâyit.
"Niwî-nipahâw awa nîscâs! Mahtêsi," itêw.
Wiya, kâ-âniwêtâkot ôma kika-âcimostawât.
Tâpwê êkwa mêtoni ê-takahki-iyawêyik ôma nâmowin ohci, kâ-nâtitâcimostawât êkwa.
Mêtoni kisiwâk, Hâw, ê-pasikôkwâskohtiyit, tapasîyiwa, ati-wêpakociniyiwa, nipahêw.
Hâw, êkosi ê-mêstâmoyit kotakak ôhi, pâhkonêwak êkwa.
Kahkêwakwa ê-osîhtâcik, ê-pâsâkik wiyâs ôma.
Ôma ostikwân êkw êkwa, manâcihtâw ôma êwako, ê-wî-kîwêhtatât.
Kita-âniwêtaht, kita-âniwêtâcik ayisk, kâ-kî-isinâkosiyit ôhi.
Mêtoni êkwa iyikohk ê-têpiwatêcik êwaki ôhi sipwêhtatâwak kahkêwakwa.
Pê-kîwêwak êkwa, kîwêwak êkwa.
âh, kinwês nôcihtâwak wiya ê-nawohcikêcik.
Mêtoni ê-ati-takwâkiniyik ê-mâci-pâh-pîwêsiponiyik takohtêwak.
nôhtaw ati nakatamwak ôma mistikwân ôma.
Âh-âcimowak, êwako ôma ê-pêtâcik wiyâs, kahkêwakwa ôhi.
Wahwâ, ê-mîcicik ayisiyiniwak, pîtos ispakwan, wîhkistamwak.
Hâw, mistikwân êkwa kâ-nâtahkik, ê-pê-wâpahtihâcik ayisiyiniwa.
Wâh, koskwâpisiniyiwa!
Mâka êkosi êkwa, wî-sipwêhtêwak. Wiya êkotê ê-kakwâtakâcihocik ôma kâ-pipohk nâtakâm.
Mâskôc nama-kîkwây pisiskiwa. Êwako ôhi âtotamwak êwako ôhi ê-osâmêtiyit êkotê
ê-paskwâk.
Namôya ta-manêsicik ta-mîcicik.
Wawêyîwak êkwa ayisiyiniwak kapê-pipon, ê-mâci-tâh-tihkâyâk, kâ-ati-kwêskâyâk âsay êkotê êkwa pê-sipwêhtêwak.
Âtiht êsa kî-kisâtamwak, kêhtê-ayak êsa, ê-âyamihtêstamawâcik.
Kâwi pêyakwan êkosi, mihtwatihk êkwa ê-asiwahahkik kâwi ôma sîpihk, êkwa ôma kihci-sîpihk, kê-itamihk ôma North Saskatchewan River.
Êkosi êkota êkwa kâ-kî-ohpikihitocik ayisiyiniwak.
Nânitaw, êkw ânima kâ-kî-itihtawakik ita kâ-âcimostawit kêhtê-aya,
nânitaw ita Prince Albert kê-itamihk, êkotê nânitaw.
Êkotê êkwa kâ-kî-ohpikihitocik
Ispîhk êkwa ê-sâh-sipwêhtêcik, kêhtâtawê kâ-kî-tâwiskawâcik kaskitêwiyasita.

Pîtos ê-isi-pîkiskwêyit, hâw, ê-môsci-âyîtinamâtowak.
Piyisk kî-nâh-nisitohtâtowak êsa, ay-âstê-kiyokâtowak mâna.
Âstam itê êkwa, nâtimihk isi, kâ-pê-is-~ pê-t-îsi-mihcêtit ayisiyiniw, ê-papâmipicit wiya
ê-kî-misi-tawâyik.
Namôya mêtoni nimah-mêtoni-âtotên ayisk kinwês nikâ-âtotên wiya ka-mêtoni-âtotamân. (external break)
Myron: ôma êkwa kâ-âniskê-âtotamân ,
ayihk, kîkwâya ôhi ohci kâ-kî~Yêkoni kayâs âcimowina.
Kêhtê-ayak kâ-kî-pê-âcimostawâcik kâ-âniskê-âcimostawâcik
Osk-âya, êkâya ta-kakwê-wanihtât, êkâya ta-kâwi-wanikiskisit ayisiyiniw,
nêhiyaw ayisiyiniw ôta.
Tânisi ê-kî-pê-isi-aya-ayisiyinîwiyit kayâs,
ê-kî-pê-isi-pimâcihot mîna, êwako ohci kâ-kî-mâmiskohtahkik,
ôhi kâ-kî-âcimostawâcik osk-âya.
Êkoni ôhi kayâs-âcimowina, mâka namôya ôhi ê-pê-mâh-mêtoni-ayâyân ôhi kâ-âtotamân.
Kâh-kinwês ôhi nîso ôhi. Kâh-kinwês ê-kî-âtotahkik, ê-kî-mêtonêcik, êkwa kâ-âniskê-âcimoyân. Êkwa kâ-kî-otôtêmicik ôhi kaskitêwiyasita.
Waniyaw êtikwê kî-ati-nisitohtâtowak.
Kêhtâtawê, pêyak ê-~Yayihk, nâpêw êsa,
kâ-pawâtahk ta-pê-sipwêhtêt, ta-sipwêhtêt, ê-mihkosit pisikiwa.
Wîhtamawâw ta-âpacihât.
Tâpwê, êkwa kâ-sipwêhtêt nâtimihk ê-isi-sipwêhtêt,
wiya ôma, kâ-kî-isi-wâpahtahk askîhk êkwa ôma kâ-isi-sipwêhtêt,
ati-pimi-nisitawinam
itê ôma kê-itohtêt, hâw, mêtoni êkwa nâspici-kîkisêpâyâw
ê-kî-otihtahk ôma sâkahikan, kâ-sâkêwêtotahk êkwa,
wâh, koskwâpisin êkota, mêtoni ê-mâh-misikitiyit ôhi pisikiwa,
mêtoni sisonê sâkahikanihk misiwê ê-hayâyit,
kâ-ati-sa-sipwêhtêyit, ê-ati-pâh-pâhkopêyit, aspin
êwako ôhi êkota âtiht ê-hayâyit, itohtêw, (external interruption)
tâpwê êkwa kê-itiht anima, êkosi itohtam, tâpakwêwêpinêw ôhi pêyak,
pê-sipwêhtahêw, pê-pimitisahok, ôhi êsa ôhi kotakak nisto
âh, kapê-kîsik êkwa têhtapiw, wiya êsa ê-kî-itiht,
âh, ê-tipiskâyik itê ê-nêstosit, sakâpitêw
ê-mîcisoyit, ê-wâpaniyik, âsay mîna,
aya, kinwês wâhyawêskamik ôma kâ-kî-itohtêt,
tâpwê, takosin kâwi wâh! koskwâpisinwak ayisiyiniwak,
mâka kayâhtê wiya atimwa, ê-kî-hayâwâcik,
atim, kâ-isiyîhkâtihcik ôki "dogs"
êkwa ôhi ê-wâpamâcik, ah, mistatim, êkota anima misatim kâ-ohci-isiyîhkâsocik,
misawâc ta-ohpikihitowak, ê-ati-isi-ohpikihitocik, êkosi, kâ-ây-âso-miyitinâwâw
kahkiyaw awiyak,
piyisk ta-têpipayiw, kî-itâw ôma

êkwa ôhi, wîwa, ê-kî-ostêsiyit, êkwa wiya awa, ê-kî-pôni-pimâcisit nâpêw êkwa ana
mîna iskwêw, awa iskwêw ocâhkosa,
nâpêsisa ôhi, ocihkwacimisa, kî-ohpikihêw, êkwa awa nâpêw awa,
namôya cîhkêyimêw ôhi ocihkwacimisiyiwa,
ê-ati-oskinîkisit awa êkwa, misatimwa awa kâ-ohtinât, ê-mihcêtoyit ôma ê-têhtapit,
kâ-pê-miskâkot ôhi osisa, kâ-nîhciwêpinikot,
"môya kiya, kâ-kî-miyikawiyan," kâ-itât
hâw, êkosi, nêpêwihik,
êkosi, pah-pimisin, ê-tipiskâyik êkwa kâ-sipwêhtêt,
sôskwâc êkwa ê-sipwêhtêt, tânitê êtikwê piko
kêhtâtawê, ê-ati-nipât ôma,
kâ-pê-otihtikot kê-itêyitahk kêhtê-aya ê-wâpistikwânêyit,
"hâw, êwako ôma ê-at-îsinâkwahk askiy êwako êkota ta-pimohtêyan", ana itik
"kimiyitin pisiskiwak, mihcêt," itik, "mâka, pêsowatwâwi, ayisiyiniwak
sôskwâc kê-itêyitahkik ta-isi-otinamâsocik, mâka, wiya kisis, êkâya kîkwây miyâhkan," kê-itikot,
hâw, ê-waniskât êkwa kîkisêpâk, kâ-sipwêhtêt êsa,
wiya ôma askiy kâ-wâpahtahk, kê-itêyitahk, êwako êkwa pa-pimohtêw,
wâh sôskwâc êkwa ê-sipwêhtêt,
tâpwê, otihtam ôma, itê kê-itiht ôma, misâkamik êkotê misatimwa wâpamêw,
pêyak ôhi, ê-kîs~Yê-kî-kiskinohamâkow ê-isinâkosiyit êkoni ta-otinât,
tâpwê sôskwâc itohtêw,
nîpawiyiwa, êkosi, pê-têhtapiw,
wâh! pimi-sâkamik pê-pimitisahok,
ha, tâmayikohk pê-na-nôhcitakwê, kâwi-otakosin,
êkwa ôma êwako ôma ê-osêcasiniyik cîki,
êkota ôma kâ-hayâcik ôtê ê-nawihtâcik,
êkotê ê-sâkêwêtêhtapit,
mêtoni, môsci-akwanahamwak, ispatinâw ôma, misatimwak ôhi kâ-misâkamik,
wâh, koskwêyihtamwak ayisiyiniwak,
êkwa kî-wanihâw wiya, tânitê êtikwê piko ê-kî-na-nitonâht, kêhcinâ êwako, ê-takosihk,
êkwa awa, ohcitaw êsa kayâs ê-kî-pê-ayêyikin,
otênâwîhtâcik pêyak otêpwêstamâkêw ê-kî-ihtakot,
êkwa awa êkwa êkotê itohtêw awa, tâpwê, pôti êkoni ôhi
hâw, wîhtamawêw sôskwâc ta-otinastimiwêyit ayisiyiniwa,
"mâka, ka-wîhtên ana kisis, môya wiya kîkwây 'ka-otinât, " itêw,
êkosi, êkota ôma kâ-kî-ohci-otêmicik ayisiyiniwak,
kêhtahtawê, ê-ti-~Y ê-hayihkik, êkoni ôki kaskitêwiyasitak, oskinîkiwak êtikwê,
ê-kî-pê-kiyokêcik
ôma ôtê, nâway ê-ati-kîwêcik
ati-kimotatostimiwêwak
êkwa, ôki, ê-wâni-astimwêcik pê-~Y

"Kêhcinâ êkoni kî-ati-otinêwak ôta kî-ayâwak, oskinîkiwak," itwêwak.
Tâpwê, êkwa, pê-nawastimiwêwak, tâpwê, êkotê miskawêwak,
Piyisk kihtwâm, tânitahtwâw êkosi ê-ispayik,
piyisk êkota kâ-kî-ohci-mâyi-wîcêtocik ôki pîtos iyiniwak,
tahk âyiwâk kâ-kî-ay-âso-kimotamâtocik,
êkosi êkota kâ-kî-ohci-mâh-mâyi-wîcêtocik.
Piyisk êkwa, wâpiskiwiyâs kâ-kî-takosihkik,
pêyakwan êkosi kî-hayihkin,
kâ-kî-wâh-wîtaskîhîcik êkwa âstamispîhk,
êkosi anima âta wiya ôki wiya, ka-ati-pa-pônipayik
kâwi êkwa, kâ-ma-miyo-wîcêtocik ôki pîtos iyiniwak.
Hâw, êkosi.

English Translation of Pre-contact Stories as Told by Myron Paskemin

Donna: Greetings, Myron Paskemin here who we are going to get to talk, my Dad, an Elder, we asked him, to tell us a story. There are two of them of the time before the European arrived here. That is all, it's your turn now.

Myron: Long ago, a long time ago, the Nêhiyawak, they lived over there at Cree Lake, (Saskatchewan). This is where the population began to grow. At that time, there was a baby who was born, who was light skinned, and it was there where he grew up with his cousin. Once, when they came to be young men, "I am going to leave, I am going to go and explore the land, I am going to the south, I am going to leave," he said to him.

It was in the early spring, that he then left. He kept track of the direction of where he was going. He came upon a river. He then made a raft. He had already brought with him, raw hide rope. With these he used to tie up the raft. He crossed the river on it. Further away on shore from the river, there was no more bush. It was all prairie, the land was kind of rough and hilly. He saw the buffalo (at this time they were not named this). He saw these four-legged animals.

He was surprised by what he saw, he was kind of afraid of them. He carefully watched where he came from. Sure enough, it was in the late fall when he arrived there. He said to his cousin, "Ok, I am going to prepare properly. I will leave early spring, if you want to come with me." Sure enough, they got ready and they were careful as to what they needed to use. Sure enough, they left to where he had explored in his first trip. Then, they did he same thing, making a raft.

His cousin was afraid to see these animals. "I will kill it, you'll see cousin," he said to him. It was his cousin who didn't believe him when he told this story in the first place. There was a really nice wind blowing. He approached his prey from against the wind. While he was crawling on his knees toward his prey, now, from up close, he shot at it with his bow and arrow, as it jumped up, it fled, it fell over, he killed it. So while the rest ran away, they skinned this one. They made dried meat by drying the meat. The beast's head now, he saved it, this, he would take home, as he wouldn't be believed, they wouldn't be believed, how this beast had looked like. When they packed all that they could, they took dried meat with them. They came home.

They took a long time to get back because of their packing (heavy load). It was in the late fall, when there were light flurries, that they arrived home. They left the beast's head a short distance away, They told the story many times. They brought this meat, the dried meat. The people ate it. It tasted different. They liked the taste of it. So, then they went to retrieve the beast's head to come and show it to the people. They were amazed by what they saw.

Ok then, so they decided they will leave. The people in the north lived in hard times in the winter. There were probably no animals. They told of many there in the prairie, they will not run out of things to eat. So, the people got ready all winter and once it began to thaw, to melt, when the season changed, they come to leave. Some stayed, some old people, they were concerned for their hardship in the people's travel. So, once again they crossed the river using the raft, using the raft they crossed the great river. The one called "North Saskatchewan River," and there they grew in numbers these people. About where, that what I had heard the Elders tell, somewhere near Prince Albert area, as it is called, it was there where the population grew in numbers.

When people began to explore other areas, they came upon the Blackfoot tribe. They spoke a different language. They used sign language to communicate. Soon they began to understand one another. They visited one another, back and forth. The population grew and started moving to the west. He moved his camp often as the land was wide open country. They continued to move to the west.

That's all for this story for now. I did not tell the whole story because if I did it would take a lot longer to tell the whole story. Now, this story I am about to tell, it links to this previous story. The purpose of these stories of long ago, were told by the Elders to the young. They told these linking stories so that the young would not lose the knowledge, for the young not to forget about the Cree tribe, here. How their living in the past and its relation to their unique identity developed. This is why he talked to the young about these stories. These stories of long ago, that I am telling, I am not specific and am not telling them in full length. Just these two stories take a long time to tell. They used to take a long time to tell these stories, they used to go into the specific details in these linking stories.

This Blackfoot tribe, who they befriended, in time, they got to understand each other. (in talking and using sign language together) It happened to be, there was this one man. He dreamt that he was to leave, to leave. He was given an animal. He was told to use the animal. Sure enough, he left, he left to the west. How he saw the land and the direction where he was to go, he recognized the land (as he saw it in his dream) where he was going. He had already arrived at the lake, but in the morning, so then he came over the hill to approach the lake. He was surprised to see these really huge animals. All along the lake, there were these really huge animals. They were walking away, walking into the water. (they didn't surface, they didn't show again) There were some there, he went there. Sure enough, what he was told (in his dream) he did.

He put a rope around the neck of one of them. He led the animal away, the animal following, along with three other animals. All day he rode it, as he had been told. At night when he got tired, he tied it up. It ate. It became morning again, it was a long way where he had come. Truly he arrived back home (from where he had came). They were amazed, but they already had "dogs," dog, these that are called "dogs," by what they saw.

Horse, that is where they got their name. Anyway, they will multiply, everyone will pass the horses on to one another, there will be enough for everyone. Finally at last he rode it, as he was told. See, his wife had had an older brother. He passed away this man and also the sister-in-law of this woman as well. This boy, he raised his nephew, and this man didn't like his young nephew. As he was becoming a young man, he took this one there were a lot of people about, he rode it.

His uncle come and found him and threw him off the horse. AIt wasn't you who was given these," was said to him. So then, he became embarrassed. So he just laid there. When it became night, he left. He decided then to truly leave without a specific direction in mind. Once then when he was sleeping, he thought an Elderly person with white hair appeared to him. "How this land looks (the Elderly described the land) this is where you are to go," he was told. "I give you animals, many of them," he was told, "but when you bring them the people will take them as they think, but your uncle don't give him any," he was told. When he woke in the morning he then left. As he saw the land, he walked that way (from the description of the land he was given). The description of the land he thought he saw, he followed. He truly took off.

He surely got there where he was told to go, there he saw many horses. He went to take this one, the one he thought was described to him. Sure enough he just went there. It stood there, he come and rode it. There were many that followed him. It is uncertain how long it took him to return. He arrived back to where he had left. Near where from just behind the hill, and here where they had lived, from there he came up and around the hill.

There were so many horses they covered the whole hill. The people were amazed. They had lost him, uncertain of where he had gone. He had been searched for, "must be him that has arrived." It happened that there has always been one person, at camp, a crier/messenger. So, this man he went there to see who it was, it happened to be the one. He told the crier, he told him, that the people were to take a horse which ever one they thought they should take. "But you will tell that my uncle cannot take one," he told him. So this is where people started to have horses. Then there was a time, these Blackfoot, young men came to visit over here. On there way home, they stole horses, as they left. These people that lost their horses, were told that "it must be them who took them, these young men who were visiting here," they said. So they did come after their horses. Sure enough they found them there, and then again how many times that happened. It was because of this reason that created the conflict with this different tribe. It happened more often that they kept stealing horses off each other. This is where they began to have conflict with other tribes.

Then (years later) the European then arrived. The same thing kept happening, (there was still a conflict between the tribes when the European arrived) until the tribes made peace with one another. That is how the conflict ended. Once again all tribes were able to get along, become friends again.

That is all for now.

I am forever grateful to my Father, Myron Paskemin, for sharing these stories with us. We are thankful to the School of Native Studies, University of Alberta for their financial and moral support. I am thankful to both of my parents and our relations, who had the tenacity and love to teach me the language and the values as a Nehiyaw, which has enabled me to assist in sharing these valuable stories with you.

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Collecting Texts in Crahô and Portuguese for Teaching

Sueli Maria de Souza[1]

The Craô[2] are an indigenous group of Tocantins in Brazil. They speak a Jê language of the Timbira group. When I carried out research for my master's degree and my doctoral dissertation among the Craô people (in 1987-1988, 1994 and 1996), I worked with the educational programs that had been set up for the Indians of the area—programs that do not work very well yet, due in part to a lack of adequate linguistic research.

In order to make a collection of texts in Craô and Portuguese for educational purposes, I had to come to terms with the complex reality of the indigenous people of Tocantins, specifically the Craô. First, I had to live among them and become aware of their social and educational situation as well as their traditional culture. I recorded a number of texts that dealt with traditional lifeways, modes of thinking, and survival strategies—how they build their houses, how they take care of children, and so on. After transcribing these data, I was able to organize a collection of texts useful for educational purposes. These texts are helpful not only to the Craô, but also to other fieldworkers.

The text I am going to present as an example describes one of the most important festivals to the Craô. After many years, the Indians got back their "sacred axe"; it had been kept in an exhibition at the Anthropological Museum of the University of São Paulo. Because of the return of the sacred axe to the "pátio of the aldeia," *câ pe crin câm*, they renewed an old ritual in which they celebrate good planting, good harvesting, and so forth. They name this festival *cajre ijon amji quin*,[3] which literally it means, "this little sacred axe is our own and true happiness."

Spelling Key

a	/a/,/â/	a mam; ca	to you; "pátio"
c	/k/	ca; co:cu	you; river; (he-) or (she-); we
qu	/kh/	quin; que	nice; he or she
e	/e/, /é/	que , cajre	he; little axe
g	/_/, /g/	garcua; aogati	your mouth, day
h	/h/	harkua	his mouth
i	/i/, /j/, /ĩ/,/in/	i to, amji, to jin	my eye, self, sit down
m	/m/	i mã	to me
n	/n/	nare	negation
o	/o/, /ó/	co; to	river; to do, to cause
p	/p/	pej	good, pretty good
r	/r/	crou; rop	trunk (tora); dog
t	/t/	tep	fish
u	/u/	cunare, ua	every; I
v	/v/	veve	butterfly
tch	/t_/	intchun	my father
ji	/ñ/	amji	self

Cultural and Educational Notes

In the "Aldeias," Craô students use the same materials as other Brazilian school children, or they use materials such as those shown below, due in part to a lack of good research data. The Indians do not consider these materials good because the contents of the books often do not pertain to their traditional lifeways; they can't make sense of such things out of context. They would like to have books on normal conversation and which would prepare them to live in any circumstances. They look to a chance to survive anywhere and having good educational programs; they want to be considered independent. Here is an example of this kind of material from a book prepared for the children of the Aldeias entitled *Canela-Krahô*:[4]

Capi te cati.	Capi's front leg is big.
Capi pa pec.	Capi's arm is weak.
Ita tep.	This is a fish.
Tep ita cati.	This fish is big.
Capi api.	Capi goes up.
Capi ita capa.	Capi get out this.
Capi ipa.	Capi is walking.

More recently, we got a sample of a textbook prepared by a Craô Indian. This textbook, however, is not geared to any specific level of student and also lacks helpful learning tools such as a key to pronunciation, sentence structure analyses, and so forth. The researcher or student is forced to guess at what the text means because the meaning of each word is not given. In sum, the researcher and the learner can not control the meanings of the words, or they can not understand for what or to whom the text is intended. The following is an excerpt from that textbook called *Maco*:[5]

> Maco ita mã mehumre mã apu cuhy, ne ame hampà. Me maco ita hyr caxuw me crow hô jitawyp caxô, me amcro mã me cuxu. Mã hapya mã cô kam me cunõ mã ihcahpôt, mã me to api, ne caxuw me crow hôa to me cajpy, ne tahnã me haxô, ne me cuhy.
>
> Translation into Portuguese: Este maco é um tipo de cesta que os homens tecem e levam dependurado no braço. Para tecer o maco eles tiram o olho do buriti, desfiam as folhas e põem os fios espalhados para secar. Depois de secos eles põem os fios na água para inchar.
>
> Translation into English: This bag is made and used by men in their arms. In order to make this maco, they get a kind of palm tree called *buriti*, strip the leaves, and then put them out to dry. After this is done, the men put the leaves into water in order to get them strong and big.

Our Purpose

Our purpose is to prepare educational materials that reflect the everyday practices of the different Indian people of Tocantins, starting with the Craô, with whom I have carried out research. The passage reproduced below, which is also the first lesson in the textbook that I put together, describes a festival that celebrates good harvesting. During this festival, the Craô sing in the "pátio," *câ pe*, for three days. They also run around and see friends and relatives from far away. In order to prepare an educational program using the text, one can have students make words lists, or one can record and listen to different texts in specific or related languages.[6] Students should explore all possibilities in order to understand and talk about the text in Craô and Portuguese. The teacher must be bilingual and well prepared with a methodological sequence of subjects relating to Indian life. The following are samples of our collection of texts:

Practicing in Craô and Portuguese.

Lesson 1. Listen to the text.[7]

Title: ***Cajre ijon amji quin***

Pe aman pe ***cajre*** *ijon* ***amji quin*** *itam pej. Pe itar hon crinare:* ***arajhi****, me* ***pricac****, me ita nan ijin crinare.Pe ajco me a pan, ne me itic, ne* ***mea cucre crou to****. Pe aman, pe ita nan aogati incre.Aogati incre acan, pe cu te ame to amrem. Itar ha ma ame cutor. Cri cunare pin ame* ***cupron****, ne me* ***hoquet****: Cachoeira pin, Pedra Branca itar; Pedra Furada, Manoel Alves, me Galheiro, men Santa Cruz me ame cua ma cupron. Ne me hoquet ne me* ***honpun*** *pram. Ne ajco me cucren, to me cucre, honquet nan, pat cam, ne ajco taj mea pan, ne pan me tchua amji quin crinare. Pe a, ua nen apu i crin nare, ne apu itaj ame cot pra aoca pat cam ajco me amji man cre. Man pe hanen, hanen tchuam ten Canela pin hanen, me cua ma cator Maranhão pin. Pe hanen, hanem me, me honpun pram. Me cu te curum, pe me amji quin tam, ajco taj ne ame i cot me pra, ne mea cucre.*

Translation into Portuguese: A festa da Machadinha

Fizeram uma festa de Machadinha, aí avisou os pessoal das outras aldeias, ajuntou do Cachoeiro, do Santa Cruz, Manoel Alves, Pedra Furada, ajuntou muita gente, até lá do Maranhão, Canela veio também. Aí era muita gente, correr com tora, de manhã, de tarde, mita carne de gado, arroz, farinha. Aí nós comia bastante, ia banhar na fonte. Era muito importante. Cantava de noite. Aí nós brincava. Aí num parava dia nenhum na minha casa, sempre andando, toda vida mais pessoal. Ajuntando muita gente você não aquieta na sua casa. Tem que andar também, na rua, correr. (Só isso que aconteceu aqui.)

Translation into English: The little sacred axe party

The little axe party here was good. There was plenty of food, such as rice and beef; there was plenty of meat. We ate, and after eating, we ran around. For three days, we stayed together, always together. Together we went around. All the "aldeias" came together: Cachoeira, Pedra Branca here; Pedra Furada, Manoel Alves, and Galheiro, Santa Cruz and all our relatives came to stay together with

us. We had a very good visit with everybody. We could not stay in one place for a long time; we could go around all the time for some food, to run around and take a bath (in the river). In the morning, in the afternoon and at night we had something to do. Also the Canela, from Maranhão came to see us. They also stayed with us, and we had a good time and we went walking and running everywhere.

Practicing in the Craô Language.

A. Practice saying these words: (using a tape recorder)

cajre
ijon amji quin
arajhi
pricac me hoquet
cuam cupron
me honpun pram

B. Practice saying these sentences:

1. *cajre ita man ijon amji quin ita man pej*
2. *mea cucre crou to*
3. *increr*
4. *aogati increr a can me cute to hamren*
5. *ame cutor*
6. *crin cunare pin ame cupron*

C. Practice writing these words and sentences:

ita	"this"
itar	"here (near me)"
pej	"good; pretty; handsome; pretty good"
man	"postposition"
quin	"nice"
ijon	"my own"
*amj*i	"self"

1) Here is nice. (ita man pej)
2) My party was nice. (*ijon amji quin man pej*)
3) This party was nice. (*amji quin ita man pej*)

Endnotes

[1]Thanks to the University of Tocantins (UNITINS) for all their support, and thanks to Victor Golla for helping me with the abstract for the Toronto meeting.
[2]I am using Portuguese symbols in order to write in Craô. I find it very important and necessary for my purpose.
[3]This text was recorded November 10,1987, in the 'Aldeia Pedra Branca' from the informant Ricardo Coniri Craô.
[4]The example is in 'Cartilha Canela-Krahô', SIL, p.7, Brasília, 1988.

[5]This example is in "Objetos do dia-a-dia Krahô", p.8 e 29, MEC.
[6]I appreciated and used suggestions given in Emmon Bach, Dora Robinson, and Rose Robinson in the winter term of 1994-95, at the UNBC class FNST 101-3, (Haisla).
[7]Thanks to ULBRA and Elmer Graff to this new recording of the text.

Early Vocabularies and Dictionary Development
A Cautionary Note

Blair A. Rudes

For the many communities where knowledge of the indigenous language has declined over the past century, early vocabularies of the language and longer archival and published linguistic works can serve as invaluable tools for retrieving forgotten or lost words when preparing a dictionary. As a language declines in use, there are ever fewer opportunities for language learners to hear the language. As a result, they may not learn certain terms that occur only rarely and may substitute more frequent terms when the need arises. For example, in the past, the Tuscarora language possessed several different words to name different kinds of feathers, including uhrá?neh *large feather, wing feather, quill*, uhsnú?kreh *small or body feather*, uθnù·reh *feather, down*; and yuhrá?kwa?r *tail feather.* Today, only the word uhrá?neh is in common use in the eastern dialect of the language spoken on the Tuscarora Indian Reservation in New York State and only the word uhsnú?sreh (from earlier uhsnú?kreh) was recorded from the last speakers of the western dialect of the language on the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario. In addition, individuals who spoke a language fluently as a child, but have not used the language since, often times repress their knowledge of the language and need some external stimulus to jog their memory. Also, all languages change over time. Some words are replaced by new words, while other words that have outlived their usefulness are lost from the language. Early vocabularies of a language can help a community in these situations to retrieve lost or forgotten vocabulary.

My Own Research

Presently, there are fewer than a handful of fluent speakers of Tuscarora. As in other native communities in similar straights, efforts have been underway for a number of years to reverse the decline in use of the language. One advantage the Tuscaroras have over some other communities is that, between 1700 and the present, numerous researchers—both non-Tuscaroras and Tuscaroras—recorded the language. Extensive vocabularies, texts, and even a manuscript dictionary from the Nineteenth Century exist. However, until recently, these materials were hidden away in numerous archival sources and available primarily to non-Tuscarora scholars.

Early in my work with Tuscarora speakers I visited the National Anthropological Archives of the Smithsonian Institution and saw the voluminous records of the Tuscarora language written down by J.N.B. Hewitt—himself a Tuscarora—during his employment at the Bureau of American Ethnology in the late 1800s and early 1900s (Judd, 1967; Rudes, 1994; Tooker & Graymont, forthcoming). When I informed the speakers I was working with of the material, they decided the material should be made more widely available and we began the process of obtaining copies and re-eliciting the texts. A little over ten years later the re-

elicitation of the texts was complete and they were published by the Canadian Museum of Civilization (Rudes & Crouse, 1987).

While the texts were being prepared for publication, I compiled a field lexicon of the Tuscarora vocabulary obtained from the re-elicitation, which was published by the University of Manitoba (Rudes, 1987). Having accomplished that, I turned my attention to the extensive additional materials on the Tuscarora language in the National Anthropological Archives (e.g., field notes by J.N.B. Hewitt and Albert S. Gatschet), as well as other archives, viz., the American Philosophical Society (texts and field notes by Anthony F.C. Wallace), the University of Rochester (field notes by Lewis Henry Morgan), and the North Carolina State Archives (Tuscarora vocabulary in early colonial documents). All of this material was re-elicited from contemporary speakers of the language. These data were combined with my own field notes and field notes kindly lent me by colleagues including Floyd G. Lounsbury and Michael K. Foster and the data in published sources to produce the *Tuscarora-English/English-Tuscarora Dictionary* (Rudes, 1999). From two decades experience in re-eliciting data from early manuscript sources I have learned several lessons, which I discuss below.

Lesson One: To Re-elicit or Not to Re-elicit

A first lesson that I learned is that one should take one's time in deciding whether to take data from earlier manuscripts at face value or re-elicit the data from contemporary speakers. Re-elicitation is both time consuming and, in many cases, boring to both the researcher and the speakers. In essence, the researcher and speakers are repeating the effort exerted by the earlier researcher and speakers who prepared the vocabulary. Such duplication of effort takes precious time away from other activities such as the elicitation of new, previously unrecorded vocabulary or the preparation of texts or language lessons. Time is a valuable commodity, in particular in the case of endangered languages, and should not needlessly be wasted on re-eliciting data that is otherwise reliable. Thus, there is a strong temptation to just use the vocabulary from the older manuscripts without bothering to check it with contemporary speakers.

In my own case, I early made the decision to re-elicit all data recorded by researchers who were not trained linguists. In hindsight, this decision was somewhat too broad since the data transcribed by J.N.B. Hewitt, by far the largest source of early Tuscarora data, proved with very few exceptions to be completely reliable.

Lessons from Re-elicitation

The next several lessons I learned concerned the difficulties involved in figuring out what earlier researchers had actually recorded. All languages change over time and early sources may reflect earlier pronunciations, meanings, and vocabulary. I will illustrate with words taken the vocabulary of Tuscarora as spoken in the Carolinas recorded in 1701 by John Lawson, Surveyor General for the British Crown (Lawson, 1709).

We know from comparison of Tuscarora vocabulary with vocabulary from other Iroquoian languages that the language has undergone several important changes in pronunciation over time. One of these changes was that earlier clusters of *hsr developed in western Tuscarora into *hstr and developed in eastern Tuscarora into *hst. For example, the Proto-Northern Iroquoian word for legging, *yoríhsr'a?, appears in western Tuscarora as uríhstreh and in eastern Tuscarora as uríhsteh. The form cited by Lawson is ⟨Oowissera⟩ *A stocking*, which probably represents ˀuríhsra?. Lawson's recording of the word thus suggests that the change had not yet occurred by the turn of the seventeenth century.

A second example is provided by the words for snow and "drest-skin" in Lawson's vocabulary. In modern Tuscarora the verb meaning to snow has the form /-tkwę-/ as in waʔká·tkwęʔ *it began to snow*. However, comparison with other Northern Iroquoian languages shows that, in Proto-Northern Iroquoian, the verb had the form *-nkwę- (compare Huron-Wyandot ⟨ˌang8endï⟩ *neger, faire de la nege* [Fraser, 1920, p. 300]). In the Lawson vocabulary, the verb appears in the word ⟨Acaunque⟩ *Snow*, probably representing ˀwaʔká·nkwęʔ and indicating that the change of *nk to *tk had not yet occurred. However, Lawson also cites the word ⟨Cotcoo⟩ *Drest-skin*. In all probability this is the same word as modern Tuscarora ká·tkęʔ *blood, gore*, which derives from Proto-Northern Iroquoian *ká·nk'ǫʔ *blood, gore* (compare Huron-Wyandot ⟨ˌangon⟩ *sang* [Fraser, 1920, p. 450]). Thus, the evidence suggests that the change of *nk to *tk was ongoing (i.e., undergoing lexical diffusion) at the time Lawson did his work.

Over time, speakers replace words in the language for a variety of reasons and older vocabularies often illustrate this phenomenon. For example, as shown in Table 1 below, Lawson recorded words for nine, pot, and yesterday that have subsequently been replaced in Tuscarora for reasons unknown. The authenticity of the words Lawson recorded is confirmed by the fact that related words appear in other Northern Iroquoian languages.[1] For whatever reason, Tuscarora speakers had simply replaced these inherited words by new words by the Nineteenth Century.

Table 1. Vocabulary Replacement

Proto-Northern Iroquoian	*Old Tuscarora*	*Modern Tuscarora*
*wáʔtr'ǫʔ *9*	⟨Wearah⟩ (ˀwáʔrę?) *Nine*	níhrẹh *9*
*yǫ́·t'ak *pot*	⟨Ocnok⟩ (ˀú·ʔnak) *A Pot*	uʔnẹ̀·weh *pot*
*ahset- *yesterday*	⟨Ousotto⟩ (ˀuhsé·thuʔ) *yesterday*	thé·ʔneʔ *yesterday*

Frequently, miscommunication between the early recorder and speakers, and limitations in the linguistic abilities of the recorder result in errors. Recorders may ask for a word that does not exist in the language, and the speaker may make up something on the spot, as shown in Part A of Table 2. Or, owing to imperfect knowledge of the recorder's language, the speaker may misunder-

stand what the recorder is asking and give an imprecise translation. In the case of the examples cited in Part B of Table 2, the speaker apparently thought Lawson was asking about the weather conditions in the first instance, and in the second case, the speaker did not realize Lawson was trying to distinguish an indigenous person of the Americas from other human beings. In the third example, the speaker thought Lawson wanted the word for the particular kind of paint he was pointing at, rather than the generic word. Similar misunderstandings account for the incorrect glosses for the remaining words in Part B of Table 2.

Recorders may also make mistakes in copying down the information they receive. This appears to be what happened when Lawson got the words for 100 and 1000 backward, as shown in Part C of Table 2. One must also be alert, in

Table 2. Researcher-Speaker Miscommunciations

A. Recorder asks for non-existent word

Old Tuscarora	Modern Tuscarora
⟨Trossa⟩ *A hat*	utráhseh *mushroom, fungus*
⟨Ooratsa⟩ *A Jew's harp*	uré·θeh *bowstring*
⟨Ootosne⟩ *Fishgig*	utáhsneh *stick*

B. Speaker misconstrues question

Old Tuscarora	Modern Tuscarora
⟨Ootauh-ne⟩ *Day*	utę̀·nęh *sunshine*; wutę̀·nęh *it is sunny* (uwę́·teh *day*)
⟨Unqua⟩ *Indians*	ę́·kweh *human being* (ękwehę̀·we *Indian, Tuscarora*)
⟨Quaunt⟩ *Paint*	kwę́ht *red ocher, vermillon* (uhθúhkweh *paint, dye, color*)
⟨Chi[h]qua⟩ *Stick*	učíhkweh *knot of a tree* (utáhsneh *stick*)
⟨Oowaara⟩ *Hair*	awę́ʔreh *fur* (ukyéʔweh *hair*)
⟨Chaunoc⟩ *Otter*	čúʔnakęʔ *beaver* (čaʔkawì·nę *otter*)
⟨Ka⟩ *There*	kęʔ *where* (héʔthu *there*)

C. Recorder miscopies responses

Old Tuscarora	Modern Tuscarora
⟨Youch se⟩ *Hundred*	uyáhsteh *1000*
⟨Ki you se⟩ *Thousand*	kayáhsti *100*

D. Speaker gives "trade language" response

Old Tuscarora	Modern Tuscarora
⟨Wartsauh⟩ *Ten*	wáhθhę· *10*
⟨Unche scauwhau⟩ *Eleven*	ę́·či θkáheʔr *11*
⟨Nectec scauhau⟩ *Twelve*	né·kti· θkáheʔr *12*
⟨Wartsau scauhau⟩ *Twenty*	newáhθhę· *20*

particular in very early vocabularies, for the appearance of 'trade language' words, i.e., words that have been simplified to facilitate communication between speakers of different languages. The word for 20 in Tuscarora is newáhθhę·, which consists of the word for 10 and a prefix meaning two. This word is inherited from Proto-Northern Iroquoian and cognates occur in all of the other Northern Iroquoian languages.[3] As shown in Part D of Table 2, the construction Lawson cites literally means 10-teen. It consists of the word for ten plus another word that is added to the numbers 1 through 9 to form 11 through 19. Apparently, this construction evolved as a simpler way of communicating 20 to non-Tuscarora speakers.

Finally, old dialect differences that have not persisted or are rare in the modern language may be represented in the early vocabularies. In the Tuscarora texts recorded by J.N.B. Hewitt in the late 19th century the augmentative enclitic consistently is written ⟨u-wĭ'⟩, as in ⟨u-nĕⁿ-se-hu-wĭ'⟩ *big house*. In the modern language, this enclitic is pronounced [-u?y] or [-u?], as in unęhsehú?y *big house* ~ unęhsehú? *big house*. We know from other evidence that the Tuscarora language underwent a change whereby the resonants /r n w y/ metathesized (reversed positions) with the consonants /h ?/ whenever they came in contact (e.g., Proto-Northern Iroquoian *ó·y'a? *other* became, with loss of the final vowel and metathesis, modern Tuscarora ú·?y *other*).[2] Hewitt's data suggest that there were some exceptions to this change in the late 1800, one of which was the augmentative suffix. This was confirmed one day when, while walking in the woods with a group of Tuscarora speakers, I asked them all for the name for a particular plant I was pointing at, wild sarsaparilla. Most of the speakers gave the word čuhne?re·θ?ú?y. However, one elderly lady's pronunciation differed from the others and, when I asked her to say the word again, she said čuhne?re·θ?úy? with unmetathesized /-y?/, confirming the earlier dialect difference in the Nineteenth Century records.

Benefits of Using Early Vocabularies

Given all the potential errors in early vocabularies, one might ask why bother using them at all. In the case of Lawson's vocabulary, for example, the answer appears in Table 3. None of the vocabulary presented there appeared in the fieldnotes of any contemporary linguists or in the writings of contemporary speakers. No one had bothered to ask about opossums or alligators because they are rare in the environment in which the Tuscarora live today. Other words did not occur because of the narrow meaning of the words (e.g., man exempt from work, mat made of corn husks) or because of topic avoidance (e.g., fart, feces). Yet, Tuscarora speakers knew these words. It only took looking at the Lawson vocabulary and thinking about how they would say each of these things for them to remember the word. This situation was repeated each time I re-elicited another early vocabulary. As a result, countless words that had been forgotten or lost from the language were retrieved.

Table 3. Information Gleaned from Lawson's Vocabulary

Old Tuscarora	Modern Tuscarora
⟨Acaunque⟩ *Snow*	waʔkáˑtkwęʔ *it began to snow*
⟨Oo-ross-soo⟩ *Shoe*	uráhsuʔ *shoe* (rare except in compounds)
⟨Ooyaura⟩ *Basket*	uyàˑreh *bag, sack*
⟨Teetha⟩ *King*	ratírher *man exempt from work*
⟨Utquera⟩ *A T—d*	utkwéhreh *feces*
⟨Uttena⟩ *A F—t*	utíʔneh *fart*
⟨Ou-negh-ra⟩ *Flints*	uhnàˑreh *flint*
⟨Ooyethne⟩ *A Mat*	uyéʔneh *mat made of corn husks*
⟨Che-ra⟩ *A Possum*	číʔreʔ *opossum*
⟨Utserarauh⟩ *Alligator*	θríʔrar *alligator*

Checks on Re-elicitation

As discussed above, there are numerous types of errors and inconsistencies that recorders, speakers, and later individuals who recopy early vocabularies may introduce, and discovering these errors reassured me that I had made the right choice in re-eliciting the data from living speakers rather than just taking all of the early vocabulary at face value. In the process of my work I came up with five rules that I continue to follow as best I can today. They are:

1. Re-elicit: Check older words with contemporary speakers whenever possible.
   (a) However, remember in so doing that the pronunciation, meaning or form may have changed over time; and that the word may have dropped out of use or never have been used in the dialects of contemporary speakers.
   (b) Therefore, do not assume that either the older source or the modern speaker is wrong. One may be, or both may be right.
2. Triangulate: Where a word is unknown in the modern language, look in other older sources to see if you find the word and confirm its prior existence.
3. Compare: Look at other, related languages and see if the word exists there. Keep in mind the expected differences in pronunciation between the two languages. (e.g., presence of cognate words for 'nine', 'pot', and 'yesterday' in other Northern Iroquoian languages with the expected differences in pronunciation confirms the accuracy of Lawson's record of these words, although all three have been replaced.)
4. Check credentials: If none of the three steps outlined above proves fruitful, it is still possible that the word in the older source is correct. Although a number of scholars collected data on the Catawba language, many vocabulary items appear in only one source. In such cases, it is necessary to examine the credentials of the researcher who collected the data. In the case of Catawba data, great faith may be placed in the field notes of Frank Siebert, Raven McDavid, and William Sturtevant, owing to their linguistic training and length of exposure to the language. Less faith may be placed in the

work of Frank Speck and Albert Gatschet (who were poor phoneticians) and Red Thunder Cloud (who was a speaker of Catawba-as-a-second language).

5. Omit: In some cases, it may be necessary to omit questionable vocabulary from other sources from the dictionary. This decision should be made by contemporary speakers after all of the above efforts have failed.

Notes

[1]Reflexes in other Northern Iroquoian languages of *wá?tr'ǫ? *9* are Oneida wá·tlu? and Onondaga wá?tę·?. Reflexes of *yó·t'ak *pot* are Oneida ú·tak and Mohawk ú·ta. Words showing the root *ahset- *yesterday* are Huron-Wyandot ⟨achitek⟩, Onondaga ahsé·tęh and Susquehannock ⟨shehaitah⟩.

[2]Reflexes of *ó·y'a? in other Northern Iroquoian languages include Huron-Wyandot ⟨8a⟩ *autre* (Fraser, 1920, p. 86), Cayuga, Mohawk ó·ya? *other* and Oneida oyá· *other*.

[3]The words meaning twenty in the other Northern Iroquoian languages are Cayuga tewáhshę·, Huron-Wyandot ⟨te8a'sen⟩, Mohawk tewáhsv, Oneida tewáhsv, Onondaga tewáshę·, Seneca tewáshę·h.

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The Process of Spelling Standardization of Innu-aimun (Montagnais)[1]

Anne-Marie Baraby

Among the languages of the world, dead or still alive, few have developed a writing system. In addition, literacy among the general population is relatively recent in human history. In fact, for a very long period, only the elite had access to writing, and being able to write was not seen as necessary for everyone. This situation has changed greatly and, in the twentieth century, literacy pretty well became the norm, at least for large national languages.

What is the case, then, among minority languages with an *oral* tradition but with no written one? Is it absolutely necessary that they align themselves with languages that have a well-established literary tradition? In the case of Aboriginal languages, this debate has arisen, and it still provokes controversy, even after 30 years. Here is what Grenoble and Whaley (1998) say on the topic in a recent book on endangered languages:

> The majority of endangered languages come from oral cultures, where converting the language to a written form poses certain consequences for the continued use of these languages. It is often argued that any change from an oral to a literate society creates major changes in that society.... At the same time, communities with long-standing written traditions may be in a stronger position to hold on to language despite reduced numbers of speakers, and certainly are in a stronger position for revitalizing a language which may in part need to be reconstructed on the basis of written records. (p. 34)

Another author follows the same line of argument:

> An indigenous language with no traditional writing system tends to yield thus to a language which serves as the means of expression to a metropolitan or otherwise aggressive culture which possesses a traditional writing system and a written, as opposed to oral, literary tradition. (Wurm, 1991, p. 7)

I do not intend to revisit this discussion. I would just like to underline the fact that, according to many specialists in minority and endangered languages, unwritten languages are at a higher risk of disappearing in the mid to long term than those that have developed a standard spelling system. In the current context of modern technological society, therefore, because of the fear that 50 to 90% of the world's languages face extinction in the next century, the development and mastery of writing can play a crucial role for Aboriginal languages (Krauss, 1992).

The question of spelling standardization, for an oral tradition community interested in writing, is a sensitive topic that arouses a great deal of emotion, as Leanne Hinton, speaking of the Aboriginal languages of California, points out:

> Choosing a writing system has been controversial for many Native communities, leading to high emotions and intense disagreements. Like language itself, a writing system becomes a symbolic representation of a community and its values. But it cannot be forgotten that the heart and soul of California languages are in their speaking. Writing is at best a crude imitation. (Hinton, 1994, p. 219)

The difficulty of adopting a standard spelling is much greater for minority languages that have many dialects. In a democratic society, there is no longer a possibility of imposing one of the dialects as a standard, either spoken or written, as was often done in the past. Instead, a consensus must be reached among all speakers involved. For Aboriginal languages elsewhere, experience shows that an imposed standard has little chance of success.

The Innu

In this paper, I will outline the experience of orthographic standardization by the Innu (also called Montagnais). This history of the development of a standard writing system for a minority linguistic community with an oral tradition is most likely representative of many situations encountered elsewhere by other Aboriginal communities and nations. The process of standardizing the Innu orthography has been long and arduous, taking 25 years to arrive at a consensus satisfactory to all the communities. An officially recognized common spelling system for the Innu language has existed since 1997.

For the Innu, the principal obstacle to standardization came from dialectal diversity; this language has two main dialects and some sub-dialects, which presented morphological differences as much as phonological and lexical ones. As I mentioned above, there was no possibility for the speakers to adopt one of the dialects as a spelling norm.

Linguistic, Geographic, and Demographic Situation

Innu is an Amerindian language of the Algonquian family that is linguistically very close to the (East) Cree of Quebec and the Naskapi. The Innu live in a remote region in ten isolated villages spread out over the immense territory of Quebec and Labrador (Figure 1). Around 8,000 people use Innu as a mother tongue and an everyday language. The rate of retention of the language varies from one community to the next: extinct in one, spoken by one third of the population in another, majority language of nearly 75% at Uashat-Maliotenam, and 95% elsewhere. The Innu language, therefore, is still vital in the majority of communities. Nevertheless, pressures from the dominant language are very strong. In fact, virtually all Innu are bilingual today, with French as the second language in the nine Quebec communities and English in the Labrador community and partly in the Pakuat-shipu community.

Figure 1. Innu Communities

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I will now outline the history of the development of writing for the Innu language.

Early Writing in Innu

In an article about the development of writing for the Innu language, Drapeau (1985b) shows that literacy among the Innu can be traced back to the arrival of French missionaries in the eighteenth century. With the aim of learning the language of the people whom they wished to convert, the missionaries developed a writing system, a quasi-phonetic transcription using the roman alphabet (Drapeau, 1985b, p. 96). Using that system, they produced dictionaries, grammars, and religious texts. We will see that this first writing system for Innu influenced the modern spelling of the language. In fact, many of the graphemes found in the works produced by the missionaries have been retained in the present-day writing system. For example, the letter *w* is not included in the Innu alphabet today because it did not exist in French and was, therefore, not used by the missionaries. From the beginning of the process of spelling standardization, the Innu vigorously rejected the use of the *w*, which is widely used in related languages.

We know that, in the nineteenth century, the Innu who were in contact with missionaries "had developed, in the matter of writing, habits which were well-anchored and a tradition of transmission of reading or writing skills" (Drapeau, 1985b, p. 96; our translation). Thus, Father Arnaud, who worked with the Innu for 50 years, declared in letters written in 1869 and 1871 that almost all the "Montagnais know how to read and write" and that "one will not find a family where no one knows how to read and write" (Arnaud, 1869, cited in Drapeau, 1985b, p. 96; our translation). The teaching of literacy was carried out within the family, with the primary aim of reading religious texts; some individuals used writing only for short messages or for a personal journal, but no one used writing intensively. With the introduction of obligatory education in the dominant language, people ceased, little by little, to write in Innu.

The practical orthographies that we are speaking of showed a great deal of variation, changing according to generation, dialect, and even individual and family. As Drapeau (1985b) points out, they followed the rules of oral language more than those of written language. No one, the missionaries no more so than the Innu writers, felt compelled to make the writing system systematic or to use a common spelling system.

First Efforts to Standardize Innu Orthography

In the 1950s, schooling became obligatory for the Innu—in French for the Quebec communities and in English for the one in Labrador. Not surprisingly, the mother tongue did not find a place in educational programs, even when it was not banned outright (as in the case of those who attended residential schools). The practice of writing and the ability to write in Innu were lost little by little over a period of several decades.

The 1970s marked a turning point in the history of writing for the Innu language. Following the 1972 publication of the document *Indian Control of Indian Education* by the National Indian Brotherhood, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs set in motion the "Project for the Amerindianization of the Aboriginal Schools," which had as one of its goals to establish the teaching of Amerindian languages in the schools.

The introduction of the Innu language into the school system posed the problem of developing a spelling norm in order to teach reading and writing in Innu. Without doubt, specialists supported the idea of establishing an orthography that could be used by all speakers, whatever their dialect. There was even consideration given within the Amerindianization project of Indian and Northern Affairs to a pan-Algonquian orthography that would use the same grapheme-phoneme correspondences for all the Algonquian languages. However, the proposal "put forward by linguists in the employ of the Department" was "met with a predictable resistance" and was "submerged in the politics of decentralization to communities which has continued from the 1970s to today" (Drapeau, 1992, p.189, 212; our translation). Even if this pan-Algonquian orthography project could have been justified on objective grounds, it did not take into account traditions, established habits, questions of identity, and so forth, all of which explain its rejection.

The work of standardizing Innu writing began in 1974, as recounted by Mailhot, an ethnolinguist who has worked with the Innu for a long time:

> Through the Amerindianization of the Schools Project, Montagnais orthographic reform has progressed through several stages since 1974: comparative description of the different local and regional dialect variants, analysis of historic and present orthographic practices, and the preparation of a proposed standard orthography worked out in collaboration with student teachers. During the next stage, most of the communities were visited and the main points of the reform tested on unilingual adults for acceptability. (Mailhot, 1985, p. 23)

An Innu-French lexicon (Mailhot & Lescop) using this orthography was published in 1977. But this first effort at standardizing the spelling system failed; speakers were not yet ready to let go of the writing system of markers for their (particular) dialect, and they categorically rejected a system that did not closely match their pronunciation. As the previous quotation from Hinton shows, writing, even for a society with an oral tradition, can be a marker of identity. "Each community, has a death grip on its particular features, and therefore, sees in *its* writing the reflection of its identity and, in the idea of uniformity a strategy for undermining *its accent*" (Drapeau, 1985b, p. 98; our translation).

Following this failure:

> From 1976, the team of consultants in the "Project for Amerindianization" was dismantled and initiatives in this matter, and

> Amerindianization in general, devolved to each community. Since then, the Department has taken no further initiatives in the area of orthography. (Drapeau, 1985b, p. 97; our translation)

Even if the proposal for uniformity did not have the hoped-for results, it did constitute a first stage that would have repercussions in the longer term.

The paradox of orthography standardization for minority (often threatened) languages is that this process is at once both time-consuming and urgent. In fact, the survival of these languages depends on means being put in place to support them, the development of writing being one of these means. One cannot always ignore the speakers and impose decisions or choices on them that they reject or do not understand. Thus, we must take into account the fact that, for many speakers from a language with an oral tradition, the difference between oral and written language is not always clear. They are afraid that they will have to change the way they speak, that they will be forced to adopt a dialect other than their own. Mailhot (1985, p. 23) points out that, in reaction to the publication of the first Innu-French lexicon written according to a standard spelling, another lexicon was produced by one of the communities on the Lower North Shore, with the title *Eukun eshi aiamiash ninan ute X* (in English: "This is how we speak at X"). Elsewhere, the introduction of a work on zoology in a phonetic orthography emphasized that, "This book has been done at Y by the Indians of Y. It is written the way we speak at Y."

It is, therefore, very difficult to convince Innu speakers of the necessity of implementing a system of writing that will not limit the dissemination of documents produced to a community of only a few hundred people, as has always been the case. I should add that certain missionaries who speak the language fluently do not accept the idea of a common spelling system either. They have developed orthographic systems specific to the communities in which they live. These systems vary from one community to the next within the same dialect. It was not easy for specialists (linguists and language teachers) to go against the work done by these missionaries.

The people who have been most concerned and most convinced of the need to establish a writing system have been, from the beginning, the Innu language teachers who must, in addition to their job of teaching, also create pedagogical material in Innu. I cite Lynn Drapeau, a linguist who has worked with the Innu of Betsiamites for 20 years and who has participated, in her capacity as linguist, in the standardization of the Innu language:

> Native teachers are often asked to perform an impossible mission: agreeing on a writing system, learning it in a few weeks, setting up materials for reading, writing, and oral teaching, and often doing all of this while they are teaching a full load. What other teachers in Canada are asked to perform such a formidable task? (Drapeau, 1985a, p. 28)

She adds that after the failure of the first efforts at orthographic standardization:

> The fact that there was no open agreement on this subject led to considerable confusion and almost total paralysis in the area of curriculum material development. Knowing that their spelling system was highly inconsistent, teachers were discouraged at the thought of producing reading materials since they knew that one day, perhaps in the near future, they would have to change most of it. The disparity of spelling habits among the teachers naturally caused a great deal of confusion among the pupils, who came to believe that Montagnais classes were futile or at least not serious. Indeed, one must remember that any students, taught to read and write in a European language with a rigorous orthography, develop high expectations about the nature of the writing system, whether it is their own langüage or a second language. Continuous groping and frequent disparities in spelling habits on the part of the teachers are readily noticed by students and entail considerable disillusionment. (Drapeau, 1985a, p. 27)

During the following decade, the teaching of writing in Innu made little progress due to the lack of pedagogical materials and reference works. In the absence of a spelling norm, material produced in one location could not be used elsewhere, unless adapted to the local dialect. The scarcity of human and material resources was strongly linked to the fact that each community had to recreate in some way what was done elsewhere. In such a situation, it is easy to understand that, in spite of the efforts of Innu teachers, the use of the Innu language within the school has not made much progress.

The Role of the Community of Betsiamites

Then, in Betsiamites, in the early 1980s, the process began again. In 1981, this community took control of its local school system. Wishing to be in the forefront with the Amerindianization of their schools, the authorities created a committee in 1982,

> whose task was to agree once and for all on a writing system and to set up a coherent program for teaching Montagnais as a first language from kindergarten to the eleventh grade. This committee was made up of three language teachers, a pedagogical consultant, the school principal, and a linguist. Meanwhile, the same team of teachers were working, with the help of the linguist, to design teaching materials. (Drapeau, 1985a, p. 28)

In less than a year, the committee arrived at a consensus on the orthography used in Betsiamites. The fairly conservative system that was adopted closely resembled the one that had been rejected in 1974. This is even more surprising when we know that the Betsiamites dialect is the *least* conservative of all. In fact, the committee went further in adopting a conservative spelling norm that reflected the type of language spoken 100 to 150 years earlier. The members of

the committee believed that the system could be easily adopted by the other communities. In the eyes of the Innu, the old language is often seen as a purer, and thus a more prestigious, form. It was, therefore, easier to have such a spelling system accepted, even if it was further from the spoken form and required a longer period of training to learn.

The committee insisted on the distinction between speech and writing:

> It was made clear that the new system of writing does not constitute a new linguistic standard to which one must conform in speaking. On the contrary, we insist that readers actually pronounce the word in their own vernacular dialect. Every effort is made in this respect so that students learn to read with no trace of a "foreign" accent. This is a major issue since we must avoid the possible accusation of trying to change the Betsiamites dialect by having the children speak the way they do in some other village. (Drapeau, 1985a, p. 31)

At no time during the process of standardization was there any question of a *spoken standard*. In all training given to future teachers of the Innu language, there was an insistence on the importance of respecting, in speech, the student's dialect, as is the case elsewhere in French or in English, where speakers keep their accent, even when the spelling is standardized.

After having succeeded with its own standardization, the Amerindianization committee at Betsiamites held a conference in 1983 that brought together Innu language teachers from all communities to discuss the orthography. This initiative was the beginning of a serious effort that would lead to standardization.

Continuing the Process: The Intervention of ICEM

The rest of the process took place in stages. In 1985, José Mailhot, who had participated since the beginning in the work of developing Innu writing, wrote:

> Acceptance by the population of the principle of a standard spelling system is only one factor needed for successful Montagnais orthographic reform. Such a change clearly will only be adopted through effective means of implementation. But no one has either the mandate or the power to ensure that the new orthography is used for real activities in Montagnais literacy. There is no policy on the question and no organization to formulate one and to see to its application. Here, as in other areas, everything takes place at the local level and everything is left to individual initiative. (Mailhot, 1985, p. 23)

On the subject of Innu publications, she adds:

> There exists no mechanism for consultation among the various community members who are writing texts for publication. An orthographic norm will not be accepted by the population if it has not

> first been adopted by the writers themselves because publication constitutes its surest means of dissemination. Responsibility for orthographic practice, however, should not rest exclusively with authors. (Mailhot, 1985, p. 24)

The absence of an authority (or an organization) with a mandate to further the development and dissemination of the Innu spelling norm seems to have blocked and slowed down the standardization process. This problem is pointed out by many authors who have witnessed the same situation. In the case of the Innu language, the large number of politically autonomous communities and the diversity of dialects could not give reliable results without some centralization of efforts. Let me point out that each Innu community is managed locally by a Band Council and that the schools are also administrated locally.

Towards the mid 1980s, an important step forward was taken with the arrival of a new partner to take over leadership in the standardization of the spelling system, l'Institut culturel et éducatif montagnais (ICEM), in English, the Montagnais Institute for Culture and Education. This cultural and educational organization, which worked with most of the Innu communities, was given as its mandate in the fall of 1985 the promotion of orthography standardization. Its role was to identify and make available human and material resources through funding future publications that followed the spelling norms, wherever such norms existed. The entry of the Institute responded to the wishes of those who deplored the absence of leadership and clear policies on this question.

The means put in place by ICEM have produced interesting results. For example, in 1989 a first spelling guide was produced that contained proposed solutions to the main problems that had been identified. Lynn Drapeau, one of the specialists involved in this matter, describes the stages that took place:

> First, Lynn Drapeau and José Mailhot analyzed recent Montagnais language publications from all the communities with the aim of establishing a first set of criteria. Variation was found on many points, some reflecting dialectal differences while other being a matter of pure convention. Each point of variation was noted, analyzed linguistically and put on a working document, which was then considered during three workshops of 3 days each from March 1986 to February 1989. These workshops brought together teachers and translators from all the communities. Because of the marked differences that separated the western dialects (Betsiamites, Sept-Iles and Schefferville) from those of the Lower North Shore, it was not possible to eliminate these spelling differences. Nevertheless the orthography was largely standardized and the rest of the process could be left to time. The decisions made in the workshops were recorded in a practical guide for teachers and editors of Montagnais texts. (Drapeau, 1992, p. 197; our translation)

In the wake of the work launched by the workshops, a Montagnais-French dictionary was published in 1991. Putting into practice the solutions proposed during the workshops, it now serves as a reference manual for the spelling of vocabulary. It must be noted that a rigorous process was followed in the editing of this dictionary in order to determine the correct spelling; to this end, many dictionaries were consulted, including those from the seventeenth century, and this allowed the historical forms of the roots to be used in disputed cases.

As Drapeau (1992) noted, the workshops organized by the Institute (ICEM) did not lead to the settling of all dialect variations. Most unresolved cases had to do with the spelling of grammatical forms (morphological variants). Nevertheless, the spelling differences had been reduced to two variants: that of the eastern dialect (grouping four communities from the Lower North Shore and the community of Sheshatshiu, in Labrador) and that of the western dialect (Betsiamites, Uashat-Maliotenam, and Schefferville).

The community of Mashteuiatsh (Lac St-Jean) withdrew at a certain point in the standardization process because it was in a different situation. There, only one third of the population still speaks the Innu language, and the average age of speakers is rather high. The language, therefore, needs to be taught as a second language. The choice of a more abstract spelling system, that is, one that does not match the pronunciation very closely, poses certain problems to second language learning. In addition, Mashteuiatsh is a distinct dialect, even though it shares a number of features with Betsiamites. However, contact has not been cut off between this community and the others; language teachers from Mashteuiatsh keep a close eye on the progress of standardization.

The Kaianuet Committee

In 1990, ICEM created the Kaianuet Committee, bringing together representatives from each community, particularly Innu language teachers. Meeting three times a year, the Committee looks after the promotion and development of the Innu language. Decisions pertaining to standardization of the spelling are now part of its mandate.

It is important to understand that the establishment of an orthographic system is a complex process that should be directed by people who have a good knowledge of the language, of its grammatical structures, and of its rules. Most members of the Kaianuet committee have had many years of experience in teaching, which has convinced them of the necessity of a good spelling system. Because their theoretical knowledge of the language is less solid, they consult specialists when they feel the need.

The committee has played an important role in the later process of standardization. The fact that the committee is permanent has guaranteed continuity since its establishment.

Final Stage

As I noted previously, the workshops that were completed in 1989 did not solve all the problems of dialect variation, especially those linked to the spelling

of grammatical variants. In 1997, a post-secondary program in Innu language and culture was set up in Sept-Iles. Because this program draws Innu from all regions of Quebec and has an important linguistic component, the question of standardizing the spelling arose once again. In the communities, language-teaching programs had only local participants; thus, the status quo orthography was satisfactory, even if there were problems with it. But when representatives from all dialects were working together, a norm had to be established once and for all.

Another series of workshops on spelling were then organized from March through May 1997 at Sept-Iles. In the second workshop, the focus was placed on verb conjugations, a crucial question in Innu. In this language, as in so many Algonquian languages, and probably most Amerindian languages, the verbal system is extremely complex. In addition, in Innu, there are significant differences between the east and the west for a certain number of verbal inflections. For a long time, it seemed that these differences could not be resolved.

The work was arduous, but the results obtained from the workshops were positive; a consensus was reached that allowed for the establishment of principles and rules for a common writing system that could be used by all Innu. The few remaining minor points of variation are not obstacles to standardizing the texts. In any case, as José Mailhot stated in the document that outlines the synthesis of the 1997 workshops: "Let us remember that the standardization of the orthography of the Innu language is a process to be continued into future years" (Mailhot, 1997, p. 2; our translation).

Among the many recommendations from the workshops is this one: "If they are aimed at the Innu public, any new books which will be published by ICEM, as well as older ones which will be re-edited, should—with the permission of the author—conform to Innu spelling" (Mailhot, 1997, p. 8; our translation).

A reference grammar of the Innu language is also in the process of being published; this work will be useful for establishing the grammatical spelling rules. Until the grammar is published, a guide to verb conjugations has been produced from the material to be included in the grammar.

Cases That Are Difficult to Settle

I have now finished the history of the different stages that led to the standardization of the Innu orthography. In order to understand why this process has been so long and difficult, we should perhaps examine several concrete problems with which those working on the standardization had to deal. I will look at three of these.

The question of vowel length. In Innu, there are two sets of vowels: long and short. Historically, the Innu have never marked the long vowels, as is done in other related Algonquian languages. From the beginning of the process of spelling standardization, those involved refused to mark vowel length, contrary to the wishes of linguists who would have liked to be able to identify this feature. This decision was irrevocable. Thus, even though Mailhot and Lescop's 1977 *Lexique montagnais-français* did mark the long vowels, Drapeau's 1991

dictionary gave no indication of vowel length in the standard spelling. It did, however, mark length in the phonetic transcription.

Linguists were worried that not marking vowel length would make reading more difficult. MacKenzie (1985, p. 55) mentions that she had the same concerns with the orthography of James Bay Cree (East Cree), but that, over time, she realized that it was not really necessary to indicate vowel length for speakers.

In addition, it was quickly realized that, for the Innu language, marking vowel length would pose a major problem for standardization. There is variation between the eastern and western dialects as a result of historical changes: vowels that are long in the eastern dialect are short in the western one. If there had been a decision made to write vowel length, it would have been difficult to standardize.

The pronunciation of vowels. This had been an even thornier problem. There were originally seven vowels in Innu: four long and three short. The evolution of the language has been such that, today, only the eastern dialect has kept this seven vowel system; in the western dialect, two short vowels, *i* and *a*, have merged and are now pronounced [ə]. Besides that, the short vowels have a tendency not to be pronounced at all at the beginning and end of words.

The solution that was adopted was to write the vowels in the most conservative way. To do this, either the vowels of the eastern dialect or the forms from old Innu were used as points of reference. This solution requires training on the part of speakers, who now cannot trust their own pronunciation in order to know how to write words.

The n/l variation. The consonant *l* exists only in the sub-dialects of the west: Mashteuiatsh and Betsiamites. Elsewhere, *n* is used. The consonant *n* is also present in both sub-dialects. The word *Innu* illustrates this situation well. It is pronounced *ilnu* at Betsiamites and at Mashteuiatsh and *innu* elsewhere. It is impossible for those speakers who do not use *l* to know when to write it. It was, therefore, proposed very early on that *l* never be used in the standard orthography. This was an easy solution to apply. It was, however, difficult for the people of Betsiamites to accept; the *l* has become a mark of identity for them. It was only in the final stage of the process of standardizing the spelling that the representatives from Betsiamites accepted not writing their *l* any more. This consonant is found, however, in the Drapeau dictionary, which was published before this decision was accepted by the people of Betsiamites.

The aim of this paper is not to describe in detail the dialect differences of the Innu language and the spelling decisions that were adopted. This information can be found elsewhere (Drapeau & Mailhot, 1989; Mailhot, 1997). Instead, I wish to focus on the principles that allowed an orthographic standard to arise.

The Principles of Innu Orthography

These principles, which were decided on during the course of different spelling workshops, are presented in the document entitled, *Pour une orthographe unique de la langue innue* (*Towards a common spelling system for the Innu language*):

- The Innu orthography will be based on a set of rules that will be called "the rules of written Innu."
- The local features of the spoken language will not be represented in the written system.
- For spelling of vocabulary, the *Dictionnaire montagnais-français* by L. Drapeau will serve as a reference (but with systematic changes and certain corrections).
- For the spelling of grammatical forms, the eastern dialect will be used as a reference (but the verb conjugations and other paradigms will be regularized).
- Variations in vocabulary that exist at the local or regional level will be treated as synonyms.
- The particular phrasing and style of each author will be respected. (Mailhot, 1997, p. 6; our translation)

Principle 3 presents the 1991 Drapeau dictionary as the reference work for standard spellings. It must be kept in mind, however, that this dictionary was made for the Betsiamites dialect before the end of the standardization process. This is why adjustments are necessary. In response to these necessary adjustments, a supplement to the dictionary was produced in a cheap format by the Kaianuet committee to meet the immediate needs of users. This supplement can be enlarged and published if necessary before another edition of the Dictionary is brought out. Another possible solution would be to transfer the dictionary to CD-ROM with the necessary additions and corrections, but this will not happen in the short-term.

Principle 4 underlines the fact that the eastern dialect (which consists of speakers from the Lower North Shore and Sheshatshiu) will serve as a reference for grammatical spelling because this dialect is the most conservative and retains grammatical markers that are often lost in the western dialect. Other reference works will be the *Guide de conjugaisons en langue innue* (Baraby, 1999), already available, and the *Grammaire de la langue innue* (Baraby & Drapeau, forthcoming), a chapter of which is already in circulation as a working document.

As for Principle 5, it treats the question of the coexistence of regional vocabulary items, like any other language. Thus, an author from the western dialect will use the verb *papu* "to laugh" while one from the east will use *ushinamu*. A list of such synonyms is presented in Mailhot (1997, p. 27) and some of these words are found in the supplement.

Finally, the new Innu spelling norm does not correspond to any particular dialect, but it is, in some way, a fusion of the characteristics of two current dialects. The choice of spelling rules was made in a rigorous fashion according to the principles that I have just outlined. Cases that were difficult to resolve were carefully examined and the resulting solutions accepted by all workshop participants, who represented the communities. The solutions that were adopted in the course of the 1997 workshops were those that provoked the most resistance in the beginning or that had not been previously studied (for example, verb endings).

Advantages and Disadvantages of the Standard Orthography

It must be understood that, if the provision of a uniform spelling has advantages, it also has disadvantages. If it were not so, it would not have taken so long to arrive at a written system accepted by all Innu.

The spelling orthography is more difficult for eastern speakers to apply, while for those from the west, the grammatical rules require greater effort. Mailhot (1997) listed the main points of disadvantage for spelling reform:

- reform requires the adoption of a number of changes in the existing spelling of all users
- in all dialects, the written language will be very far from the spoken language (so that no one will be able to count on his or her pronunciation as a guide to spelling)
- training in the written system will be longer and more difficult than it is now; the proposed reform does not take account of the language of Mashteuiatsh
- all the words in the Innu language are not in the dictionary; certain minor points still have no solution. (p. 7; our translation)

Future

This spelling norm is still very recent; the work is far from over. Above all, the norm must be disseminated to other speakers, and this is a long way from happening. The focus should be on the training of different groups who will use it: teachers, editors, translators, and so forth. These groups are generally in favour of spelling reform because they understand the need, but, without training, they encounter difficulties in applying the rules.

At the moment, too few Innu have mastered the common orthography sufficiently. Feeling ill at ease with this new norm, they are often hesitant to adopt it. The important work of creating awareness and promoting the spelling norm needs to be carried out for the whole population. We should not have set our expectations too high, however, because it is not easy to make people understand the results of standardization when they have not followed all the steps in the process.

It is necessary to target young people in particular. As experience has shown, right from the beginning of the orthographic standardization process, children have much less difficulty than adults do in mastering a spelling system that does not wholly correspond to pronunciation. In fact, they have no prejudices, have not acquired spelling habits (as have adults), and are not attached to any particular tradition, such as the one inherited from the missionaries. Objectively, the Innu standard orthography is not more abstract or complex than that of French or English. It is the lack of teaching material and written documents that makes the difference, as much as the scarcity of well-trained teaching personnel for written Innu. If the teaching of the Innu language is given more room in the school curriculum, then the dissemination of the common spelling system can move forward.

In future years, the focus will be placed on children and adult literacy, on producing language specialists, and on the production of pedagogical and reference material.

Conclusion

In recounting the history of the standardization of the Innu orthography, I have shared with you an experience of spelling standardization that was not easy but that has given interesting results, thanks to the ceaseless work of individuals who really believed and persevered. In some locations, people who were present at the beginning of the process continue to work in the same direction as teachers, translators, program co-ordinators, members of the Kaianuet Committee, and so forth. The existence of a spelling standard does not guarantee the survival of a minority language from an oral tradition, but it is an important tool in the development of writing that may help language maintenance.

Perhaps this experience will encourage those who are engaged in a similar process to persevere despite the obstacles.

Note

[1]I would like to thank Marguerite MacKenzie for the English translation of this paper.

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Maintaining Indigenous Languages in North America: What Can We Learn from Studies of Pidgins and Creoles?

Anne Goodfellow, Pauline Alfred

What do studies of pidgins and creoles have to do with indigenous language maintenance? The development of pidgin and creole languages always occurs in the context of *language contact*, often between a European colonial language and one or more indigenous languages. All Native languages in North America have been in contact with a European language (usually English) for at least the last two hundred years. Educators and researchers in the area of Native language maintenance often comment that students are not learning the "proper" language. In many cases, young children come to school with a knowledge of only English, so they are learning the Native language as a second language. What often happens is that they learn Native vocabulary but maintain English grammatical structures and phonological distinctions. Are they speaking the Native language? Are they speaking English? Or are they speaking a "mixed" language? Pidgins, creoles, and mixed languages are examples of how new languages develop over time through language contact. Perhaps the Native languages as spoken by young people can be regarded as types of pidgin languages. If we look at language learning in this way and realize that all languages change over time due to various influences, perhaps we can be more accepting of the way that Native languages are spoken today and encourage young people to continue speaking the language, in whatever form.

What are Pidgins, Creoles, and Mixed Languages?

Pidgins are languages that are "primarily used as a means of communication among people who do not share a common language" (Muysken & Smith, 1995, p. 3). Pidgin languages are usually not anyone's mother tongue; that is, they are not the first language learned by a child. They develop in the attempts of people speaking two languages to communicate and involve processes of simplification in phonology and grammar.

Pidgins develop in different contexts. Some of these are trade; interethnic contact of a religious, political, or ceremonial nature; or when people speaking different languages live and work together over an extended period of time (Bakker, 1995, pp. 27-28). For example, Chinook Jargon, or Wawa, spoken along the Northwest coast of North America, is a pidgin that was used primarily for trade but also for ceremonial and religious purposes. The word "potlatch" comes from Chinook Jargon *pálač* (Thompson & Kinkade, 1990, p. 50) meaning "give-away." This pidgin is still spoken by a few people in British Columbia and Oregon (Johnson & Zenk, 2000).

Creoles are languages that develop from pidgins that become more widespread and stabilized. Creoles become mother tongues or first languages. In comparison to a pidgin, a creole's vocabulary is expanded and its syntax is elaborated (Salzmann, 1998, pp. 174-175). For example, Hawaiian Creole English is spoken by about half a million people in the Hawaiian Islands. It developed

from a pidgin language used in the nineteenth-century sugar plantations there (Watson-Gegeo, 1994, p. 102).

Mixed languages are somewhat different from pidgins and creoles. Essentially, a mixed language fuses the vocabulary of one language with the grammar of another (Bakker & Muysken, 1995, p. 41). For example, Michif, the language of Métis people, combines Cree grammar with mostly French vocabulary, although some of the vocabulary is Cree as well (Bakker & Muysken, 1995, pp. 45-46). This language developed out of the interaction between French fur traders and Cree people (primarily Cree women) prior to the 1800s. It is currently spoken by about 1,000 people in the Plains area of Canada and the United States, most speakers being over 60 years of age (Smith, 1995, p. 370). And its future, like many indigenous languages in Canada, is threatened (Fleury, 2000).

Indigenous Language Shift

Now that we know what pidgins, creoles, and mixed languages are, let us turn to the following question: What is happening to most North American indigenous languages now?

As we are all well aware, most North American Native societies have been involved in a process known as "language shift." In language shift, in a matter of a few generations, people shift their mother tongue from one language to another. In the case of Kwak'wala, spoken in the northern Vancouver Island area, this shift has involved a gradual loss of Kwak'wala in favour of English. This case is certainly not unique, and it is not news to you—as you are all well aware, this has happened to most other indigenous languages of North America. This is the reason we hold these conferences—to see if we can somehow avoid this shift.

The interesting thing to note is that the processes involved in pidginization are remarkably similar to those of languages undergoing shift to another language. In discussing how indigenous languages change in similar culture contact situations, researchers have noticed processes of simplification evident in bilinguals and semi-speakers of the indigenous language. The main process appears to be one of analogy that reflects structures in the other language.

This is sometimes referred to as interference, which is "the tendency of second language learners to transfer patterns from their first language to the second language" (Gumperz & Gumperz, 1982, p. 16). In the case of Kwak'wala, we would attribute this interference to a prolonged period of exposure to the English language and Eurocanadian culture because English has become the mother tongue of Kwakwaka'wakw children; thus, most people today of Kwakwaka'wakw ancestry are anglophone. Therefore, when Kwak'wala is learned as a second language (usually in the context of elementary school), it is influenced by the English grammar and vocabulary that have already been established in the cognitive schemata of the child's linguistic structure.

The following examples from fieldwork done in the Kwakwaka'wakw area illustrate how, in our opinion, some young Kwak'wala-speakers are speaking a

type of mixed Kwak'wala-English, or a "Pidgin Kwak'wala." These examples are from an older speaker who is over 50 years old and a younger speaker in her early twenties. Also note that the younger speaker is considered to be a very good speaker for her age—she is *not* typical. Most Kwakwaka'wakw in their twenties do not have this command of the language.

In the tables below, we have examples of grammatical and phonological differences between the two generations of speakers. In the grammatical examples, we see how the older speaker uses suffixes rather than individual words to mark grammatical differences. Kwak'wala is a polysynthetic language, unlike English, which is more analytical. In these examples, the younger speaker uses an analogy with English when speaking Kwak'wala.

In the phonological examples, we see a loss of some of the distinctive features of Kwak'wala, probably because they do not exist in English. So, in essence, the younger speaker is speaking Kwak'wala with an "English accent."

Table 1. Examples of Grammatical Differences:

suffix=ʔstu (eye, door, round opening)
"to wipe your eyes"

Older generation	***Younger generation***
didʔstó	díxidus gégasus
wipe'eye	you wipe-your eyes

suffix=əxst(a) (opening; mouth of animal; to eat, meal; to talk about)
"small mouth"

Older generation	***Younger generation***
t'óg^{w}əxsta	amáʔi səms
mouth'small	small mouth

Table 2. Examples of Phonological Differences:

Loss of Glottalization (glottalized "p")

Older generation	***Younger generation***
p̓əsp̓ay̓ú (ears)	pəspəyú

Loss of Uvular (back "g")

Older generation	***Younger generation***
gayágas (eyes)	gégasus

Loss of Velar Fricative (loss of "x")[1]

Older generation	***Younger generation***
həbəxstéʔ (beard)	həbəstá

So how can we apply this knowledge to the stabilization of indigenous languages? Because we know that all languages change in contact situations, perhaps we can use this to our advantage. If we, as researchers and educators, can somehow "arrest" the process of language change so that it does not lead to a

complete shift to English, there is a better chance for the indigenous language to continue, albeit in a different form, similar to a pidgin or mixed language.

In order to do this, one thing that must change is attitude. Pidgin languages all over the world suffer from a lack of prestige. In our own efforts to maintain indigenous languages, we would like the children to speak the same way that their grandparents do or even the way their great grandparents did. Is this a realistic goal? Are we setting ourselves up for failure? Of course these are all well-intentioned efforts, but rather than saying such things as, "Our children are not speaking the language properly" because they may use some English vocabulary or grammar, perhaps we should encourage this language use and accept this "different" language. Is it taking it too far to suggest the development of language programs based on the new language? "Pidgin Kwak'wala," for example? This may be the way we must go in the future anyway once the responsibility for maintaining the indigenous languages falls to the generations who speak the language imperfectly, usually those who learn it as a second language (see Montler, 1999, p. 489).

The difference between the development of pidgins, creoles, and mixed languages and language education is that the first three occur naturally. These types of languages also may die out by shifting to English. In language education, we are attempting to change the natural direction of language shift. Language planning by its very nature is interventionist.

Kwak'wala Learning in Alert Bay, BC

Pauline Alfred started teaching Kwak'wala in 1976, and she continues in the Kwak'wala as a second language program at Tl'isalagi'lakw school in Alert Bay, British Columbia. The school currently has Kwak'wala immersion in the nursery class taught by Marion Warner and in the Kindergarten class taught by Lorraine Hunt, and work is being done on having immersion for grade one in the near future.

Grades 1 through 10 (the highest grade at the school) receive instruction in Kwak'wala every day for half an hour. They also have a cultural program for learning songs and dances taught by Sandi Willie every day.

According to Pauline, the students coming out of the Kwak'wala language program are not fluent, but they can understand Kwak'wala. They can sing hymns and everyday songs, and they have good pronunciation. The areas of greatest difficulty are in the following: plurals, distinguishing between talking about objects that are "here" and "there" and "visible" and "invisible" because they are different grammatical categories, and past and present tenses.

During June sports, which is a big event in the community, students do presentations in Kwak'wala, and one boy and one girl are chosen as the prince and princess for that year. The students are capable of saying what their names are and where they are from. The speech is usually written in Kwak'wala and read out loud.

Students are very knowledgeable about their culture and use some Kwak'wala words in their everyday speech. Some people come out of the school program capable of carrying on simple conversations.

We have seen a big difference over the past few years in the youth participating in cultural activities in the bighouse (the centre of the potlatch) owing to the language and culture programs in the school. Young people are very knowledgeable about their culture and accept their responsibility for passing this on to future generations, whether in Kwak'wala or English.

Conclusion

If we want to maintain indigenous languages, not only in North America but also throughout the world, perhaps we, as educators and researchers, should re-examine the goals that have been set for language maintenance programs. If we can accept that all languages change over time, we might be more accepting of new forms of language that emerge out of contact situations. These should be promoted in the hopes that a language will not die out altogether, as has been the case with many indigenous languages.

Note

[1] Arabic \r 11. It is interesting that this seems to occur only when the velar fricative is followed by another fricative, here "s". We see the use of "x" above in the example "díxidus gégasus" where it is preceded and followed by a vowel.

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Ojibway Hockey CD ROM in the Making

Shirley I. Williams

The Revitalization of Nishinaabe Language Project at Trent University began two years ago. The Project develops materials for Ojibway and Odawa language speakers, students, and new learners. It has been a hub of continuous activity for creating language materials and has led to the creation of a web site.

For many years now, Nishinaabe language teachers have been crying for language materials. In the past, Native language teachers have had major concerns with the lack of materials available, the lack of funding opportunities available to them, and the need for an increase in the number of trained language teachers. Every teacher who has taught language has run into the same problem, which, of course, is the availability of Native language materials and activities for their students. This need for materials was the basis for beginning this project.

The project started two years ago, and it is now in the final stages of revising the language texts as well as developing the accompanying materials for the spoken texts. The texts I am referring to are entitled: *Eshkintam Nishinaabemang Mzinagan*—Introduction to Ojibway; *Eko-nizhing Nishinaabemang*—Intermediate level; *Oshime Geyaabe Nishinabemang*—More Advance Ojibway language; and *Gdi-nweninaa*—Our Voice, Our Sound, formerly called Lexicon Dictionary.

The content of the last book, *Gdi-nweninaa*, is organized into themes. Some of these themes were extracted and became the foundations for the other texts. *Gdi-nweninaa* contains five chapters, and the fifth chapter became the base from which we are creating the CD ROM. Chapter five consists of recreational themes; it is from this theme that the vision for designing a CD-ROM about hockey came.

The project as a whole does not consist of the CD only; it also concerns many other facets of language development. There are crossword puzzles, anagrams, word searches, and much more, all of which relate to the first text, *Eshkintam Nishinaabemang Mzinagan*. This idea came as a result of Native language students not having any activities to enhance their language learning. The crossword puzzles have almost been completed.

Another learning tool nearing completion is that of flash cards. Future plans consist of, but are not limited to, making cassettes to accompany the three texts. However, this workshop will focus on the development of the CD-ROM.

The CD ROM

In September 1998, a group of Ojibway language experts, consisting of language teachers, fluent speakers, technicians from Trent University, students, and other invited guests were called to the Native Studies Department. This small group of people gathered to discuss a number of topics. The key question that we explored was "What can be done in order to create Ojibway language materials?" The theme for the project was evolving. The large group was then divided into four smaller groups, and each was given a choice of theme from which to develop a lesson.

As a result of this brainstorming session, the idea for developing a CD-ROM on sports was born. One key question raised was "What group is the project going to target?" A discussion took place, and the conclusion was unanimous—the youth. A number of other questions came up, such as What about High School students who are learning the language? How can we get them to be interested in the language? How can we help them learn the language without making it too difficult for them to grasp?

One of the Elders told me that our way of teaching and learning the language has always been to have fun. Language learning does not become difficult as long as the people learning are having fun. Therefore, creating fun resource materials for the youth would be part of the challenge.

The Challenge: Hockey

Most Aboriginal communities have arenas, and most children play hockey. Some play for house league teams, and some even go on to play for professional teams. For example, on Manitoulin Island, there is a team called the Manitoulin Panthers, for which some of the fluent speakers' nephews play. There are also teams such as pee-wees, bantams, and so forth.

Some of these children will be heading off to secondary school, and, now that there is going to be an Introduction to the Ojibway Language course offered, it was felt that this would be an ideal opportunity to offer a CD ROM at this level. The CD-ROM will focus on hockey and will be aimed at the youth primarily, but it will also be useful at the post secondary level. In fact, it could also help other groups who are learning the language.

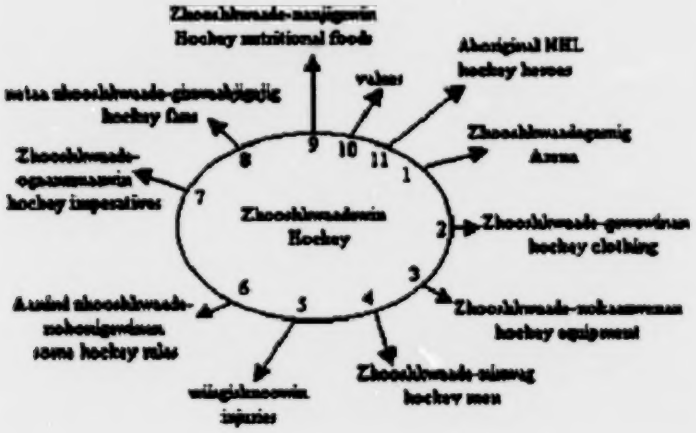
Youth need something that relates to them in order to learn, and hockey is important to many Ojibway youth. Perhaps they might end up using the language to communicate to each other while playing hockey. For example, they could use the language as a code in order to win, fooling the other teams by speaking their Ojibway language.

One Saturday night, I sat down to watch an NHL hockey game. This game was being televised on the Wawate network, where the hockey games are broadcast in the Ojibway language—northern dialect. One of the announcers translated into English for those who were watching the televised game. While watching, I recorded the hockey words and phrases. After compiling a number of these words and phrases over many games and seeing how much fun it had become, I began to document any language words that related to hockey. Each theme was taken and organized into a medicine wheel format.

The Medicine Wheel is a circle that has four sections or quadrants, such as the physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual aspects. From this medicine wheel, the idea of nurturing the language and healing came to be. Even though some of the themes did not fall into the four categories, every attempt was made to accommodate them. The main focus was to revitalize what we have and had in teaching language and culture. Using this method, it was felt that we would be continuing to heal and nurture the language and culture. In this case, that healing was based on the theme of hockey.

There were 13 themes that were documented and organized into the four sections of the wheel. These included: the arena, hockey clothing, hockey equipment, hockey players, injuries, referees, hockey practice, hockey fans, nutritional foods, values, and, of course, Aboriginal hockey heroes (Figure 1). It was felt that the students who would be learning the language might get an incentive from the players, so it was very important to portray a hero because some of them may dream of some day becoming a hockey player. But, as you may know, there are not many Aboriginal hockey players in the NHL.

Figure 1. The Hockey Wheel



After completing the themes for the wheel, it was easy to spot more that could be done, and these became the sub-themes. Expansion began in the area of sub-themes in, for example, the theme of the arena. There are many different shapes and colours of arenas, and there are many contents within an arena.

After expanding the sub-themes, writing the scripts began. We wrote the scripts to match the themes and what might happen on the scene. We felt that it was important to relate things that actually happen in a typical hockey game so that the students would be able to relate to the hockey action and still be able to learn.

Some games have been suggested, and even some Ojibway challenges, in order for learners to test themselves. We are also considering incorporating reward points into the CD as a kind of learning incentive.

Speaking of the NHL, every year, as far as I can remember, there has been a Little NHL Hockey Tournament for the Aboriginal youth during March break. Oh! You know everyone leaves the Island to cheer on his or her sons, nephews, cousins, and so forth. In Wikwemikong alone, as the tradition goes, the residents

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of the Wikwemikong Nursing Home are the keepers for the week because they are the only ones that stay behind to manage and look after the community during that week. This is how important hockey is and how well played, attended, and liked the sport is in this area. Although I knew most of the hockey words and phrases, as a hockey aunt, this project became more and more interesting to research for me.

Research Questionnaire

Prior to beginning the CD ROM project, a research questionnaire was developed in order to consult and receive feedback from local Aboriginal communities, interest groups, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal post-secondary students, as well as other people in the surrounding area. It was very important to incorporate community input into the development stages of such an undertaking because this project would be linking the Nishinaabemowin language to modern technology. The questionnaire was divided into three sections: personal information, community information, and project information.

Rationale: Through the residential school system, generations of Aboriginal people were removed from their home communities and forced to abandon their language and culture. Our current curriculum is not based on Native curriculum; it is based on that of the dominant society.

Many Elders have said that we need to teach our language and culture and that the culture is not separate from the language—the two go hand in hand. The language encompasses all of our beliefs and customs. Therefore, it is important to teach our ways to our people so that they will know where they came from and where they are going in the future.

Community input: Communities must be included in curriculum development from the start. Both children and parents must be involved, and the education system must comply with the requests of the Aboriginal communities. Aboriginal communities need to control and review the curriculum being taught to their children.

Results: The results of the questionnaire were crucial because they were to have an influence on what would be incorporated in the production of the CD-ROM. Some of the questions were posed in order to get opinions on marketing and on the approaches that we would use to get the finished product into the hands of educators and students. I explored the comments from the questionnaire that were relevant to our project and implemented some of the ideas.

Reference Committee

Four Ojibway language experts were invited to sit on a committee that would oversee all aspects of the RNL project. This committee is referred to as the Reference Committee. The four who were chosen had the qualities and qualifications needed in such an undertaking: fully fluent, language teaching experience, linguistic training, knowledge of the new Orthography of the Double Vowel writing system, and proof reading experience.

New Words

Even after finding out the Ojibway names for most of the hockey related things, I am still doing research on some of the words for things that are relatively new, like jock strap. We did not have words for these things in the old language, so new words need to be added to our present vocabulary.

Language is a living thing that evolves with the times. Some new things are hard to describe, but although the words created for them can be very long, they sure get the idea across. We are now into the new Millennium, and although this has never been done before, it is urgent that speakers coin new technological words to describe such things as a Plexiglas or a time clock.

Script

As the CD-ROM was developing, scripts were added to the work. The first script we developed was based on the theme of the arena. We researched the appropriate animate and inanimate nouns and the appropriate verbs. We also felt it was important to include conjugated verbs in order to make use of the new words that were learned.

The first scene begins with two people wondering why there are so many cars in the arena parking lot. The first person wants to find out what is happening, and the second person says that there is hockey tournament. In order to distinguish the first person from the second person, an A is recorded to indicate the first person speaking and a B for the second speaker.

The scripts have been completed, and it is now time to confirm the ideas behind them. All of the information is going to be checked with fluent speaks from the community, including Aboriginal men, former hockey players, and referees. The time and place for this to be done is currently being planned.

Conclusion

I have completed all that needs to be done to this point, and as soon as the funding is received for the technician, one will be hired. The making of this CD-ROM is an opportunity to be creative and innovating. The finished product will provide students with something to do while learning the language. It will also provide an opportunity for teachers to make use of computer labs to further enhance their language teaching and give advanced students the opportunity for independent study. Adult learners and families will be able to learn in the comfort of their own home. The CD may even motivate students to learn the language or even the game of hockey. Pride will radiate when learners find out that this game originated in North America.

The CD-ROM will be compatible for both Mac and PC systems so that every opportunity is made available for people to work on an Ojibway CD-ROM.

Note

DIAND and the Ministry of Training and Colleges have funded the project.

The Use of Multimedia and the Arts in Language Revitalization, Maintenance, and Development: The Case of the Balsas Nahuas of Guerrero, Mexico

José Antonio Flores Farfán

It is a well-known fact that, in a global context, most of the world's languages are in danger of becoming extinct within a couple of generations. Consider that, of an estimated 6,000 languages spoken worldwide, by 2050, eighty percent of this diversity could be lost (Krauss, 1992). This situation is even more troubling when we realize that many more efforts and resources are allocated to mitigate the demise of biological diversity than to revert linguistic extinction (Cantoni, 1996). To be optimistic, it is easier to revitalize a language than a species (e.g., the case of Hebrew, Fishman, 1991). To be pessimistic, for a number of reasons, including economic and ideological ones, speakers are sometimes not willing to revitalize their language at all. Thus, there are situations in which languages are certainly going to fade and some in which they have indeed faded away. One cannot blame speakers for deciding to give up their language; sometimes they have good reasons for doing so (Cantoni, 1996).

In the field of endangered languages, there exists only a limited set of terms, such as "revitalization," to describe a wide variety of situations. We need a clarification of these vague terms and concepts in order to better describe and understand the various types of situations we are facing. With a clearer understanding of the dynamics of endangered languages, different strategies can be successfully developed for different situations.[1]

For example, compare Mexico and the United States. Even when we can find similar situations between these two countries, there are also very important differences. Judging from official figures, the U.S. apparently has more languages (175, see below) than Mexico (62, Dirección General de Culturas Populares). However, from a comparison of the gross population figures of indigenous peoples in both countries, a different picture emerges. Mexico has a total population of approximately 100 million people, about ten to fifteen percent of whom speak indigenous languages. In comparison, Native Americans in the U.S. make up only one percent of the total population. In other words, in Mexico, estimations of the total indigenous population are between ten to fifteen million people. In the U.S. (including Alaska), there are only approximately two million Native Americans out of a total population of over 250 million in a territory three times the size of Mexico according to a 1999 U.S. Department of Commerce study done through its Economic and Statistics Administration Office.

More important, even though there are fewer resources to support the use of indigenous languages in Mexico than in the U.S., it is more likely that, in Mexico, we can find situations in which indigenous language use is more vital, as such demo-linguistic figures suggest. Thus, in Mexico, in relation to carrying on an intervention proposal oriented to support indigenous languages, the set of terms that would be better applied to a number of situations would include "maintenance" and even "development." In contrast, the key word in the U.S. is "revitalization."[2]

The need for different terms becomes even clearer when we take into account that, in Mexico, we find indigenous communities that still have a monolingual population, such as the Yucatec Maya. These communities include a considerable number of Elders and even children who still have Spanish as a second language. In contrast, in the US, most Native Americans have English as their first language, and only a few children still learn Native American languages. Moreover, in the U.S., semi- or quasi-speakers of almost all endangered languages count statistically as representatives of one language or language family (Hinton, 1994).

All in all, I will suggest in this paper that the dynamics of endangered language situations often include a mixed bag of cases in which one finds different stages of language shift and maintenance. This is the case in, for example, Arizona, which Krauss (1996, p. 13) considers the state with the most linguistic vitality and which he includes in his "honour roll" of U.S. languages. Thus, the set of terms that range from renewal, restoration, revitalization, and preservation on the one hand, to maintenance and development on the other, can be thought of as a continuum on which endangered languages are categorized: ranging from the almost complete decay of a language to a language of high vitality. In all known regions of language endangerment, one finds a wide spectrum of situations in a single geographical area, as Krauss' (1992) discussion of A, B, C, and D languages also emphasizes. The Balsas area is a good example of a situation that lacks uniformity.

As well as having problems with vague terminology, the field of language revitalization raises a debate between basic and applied research. There is an historical divorce between these two spheres in the social sciences, which at times make research a somewhat sterile exercise.[3] The implications of this division are significant and many; they entail different perspectives and interests that at times are in open contradiction. For instance, compare the perspective of the linguist versus that of the speaker regarding a series of issues. From a Native American perspective, one does not interrupt the Elders or interrogate them while they are speaking. In contrast, a linguist would do this because of his or her interest in clarifying a given aspect of the language and his or her quest for identifying linguistic structures.

Another good example is the different perceptions of what constitutes a language and a dialect of a language (e.g., Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish in Scandinavia or Maya Mopan versus Maya Yucatec in the Maya region). In Mexico, some linguists (most notably Summer Institute of Linguistics linguists) claim that there are around 40 Zapotec languages. In contrast, some speakers perceive only up to four clearly differentiated Zapotec tongues. The same is true for the idea that there are 12 Nahua languages (Suárez, 1983) versus the idea that there is a continuum of intelligibility based more on attitudes than on internal language differences. In other words, are there a number of Nahua dialects in Mexico or a dozen Nahua languages?

An even more dramatic and eloquent illustration of the clash of perspectives between linguists and speakers is the linguists' interests in describing a language

without speakers (i.e., via a corpus) versus the speakers' interest in recovering an endangered language. The same applies to different perspectives on what constitutes a language or a speaker of a language. Compare the purist views of some orthodox linguists versus the actual code-switching and code-mixing that occurs in bilingual use. Or compare the assumptions behind the existence of "ideal" versus "real" quasi- or pseudo-speakers (Flores Farfán, 1999a). Yet another example is the linguists' interests in a given language versus some speakers disinterest in speaking their heritage language (Cantoni, 1996).

All of these definitions differ depending much more on political, economic, or ideological differences than on strictly structural linguistic ones per se, which is a conception that views language as the material medium of the production and reproduction of culture and society, or at least as an epiphenomenon, but not as an independent, de-contextualized, metaphysical entity.

Sketch of Sociolinguistics in Mexico

The divorce between basic and applied research is clearly manifested in the disciplines' practices themselves. Consider the practices of orthodox anthropological linguistics, or what elsewhere has been termed anthropological sociolinguistics (Flores & López, 1989, Flores Farfán, 1999a), one of the sociolinguistic methods that has been employed in Mexico. It searches for speakers of "pure," "exotic" languages, discarding contact phenomena as parenthetical or as marginal realities. When I first studied linguistics, one of the maxims that students were encouraged to follow was to regard Elders (with complete teeth and so on) as the only representatives of the "real" language. This implies studying only one variety of the language and considering it THE language. The researchers' interests in the indigenous language might indirectly have a "revitalizing" effect on the subordinated language, but this result is more as a by-product than a conscious effort.

In contrast, another sociolinguistic trend that has been developed in Mexico corresponds to the sociolinguistics of conflict. This approach tends to overemphasize the influence of Spanish in indigenous communities as part of the inevitable fate of language shift to which, according to its practitioners, sooner or later all indigenous languages are condemned. In this approach, research methods, such as interviewing in Spanish, actually promote Spanish as the dominant language.

Both trends depart from monolingual perspectives of bilingualism. They are derived from a series of idealizations, preconceptions, or biases that carry more political overtones than structural realities (e.g., the ideal speaker of a language in linguistics or even anthropological linguistics). Fortunately, the field of language revitalization and reversal provides the context for a corrective to these trends and suggests a productive interaction between research and intervention, which is still in the early stages of development in Mexico.

The sociolinguistic situation of Indigenous languages in Mexico. As suggested, the situation of indigenous languages in Mexico[4] today can be viewed as part of a continuum. On one end of this continuum is total language shift, in

which languages are extinct or becoming extinct, as is the case with the languages of California (Hinton, 1994), most notably in Baja California. This is a Mexican state experiencing a very similar situation in terms of moribund languages, but considering the difference in the resources allocated to each to reverse language loss, the situations are quite different. There are, however, Mexican languages that are still alive and doing fairly well, such as Yucatec Maya, Huichol, and Isthmus Zapotec, among others—although this does not mean they are not endangered. Again, in one single region, such as in the Balsas region, one will find different "stages" or degrees of the language shift continuum simultaneously. These kinds of regions resist simple characterizations of language shift (Fishman, 1991).

Mexican multilingualism can be characterized as a conflictive diglossic bilingualism. This means that bilingualism constitutes a historical stage leading to a new monolingualism or a substitutive bilingualism. In other words, the history of Mexican multilingualism can be summarized as the history of substitutive and diglossic bilingualism (Kloss, 1967) up until today.[5]

Notes on the history of Mexican multilingualism. In prehispanic Mesoamerica, Nahuatl was a lingua franca. This reflects the dominance that the Aztecs (or *Mexicah*) acquired only 300 years before the new invaders arrived on the Mexican plateau, usurping others' cultural traditions and presenting those cultures as their own. There were at least two types of diglossia in such a remote era. The first type of diglossia was an internal diglossia, resembling Ferguson's original definition, where two varieties of a single language correspond to high and low (complementary) functions, one linked to the public spheres and the other linked to the informal spheres. In classical Nahuatl, one even finds terminology that indexes this diglossic relationship: *Macehuallatolli*[6] "the speech of the peasants" versus the *pillatolli*[7] "the speech of the nobles." Most of the vast number of documents that exist in Nahuatl, the collection of which rivals the greatest document collections worldwide, are in the high variety of the language (Lockhart, 1992).

The second type of diglossia involves Nahuatl versus other indigenous languages. This conflict is expressed in the name Nahuatl itself, which means "agreeable, pleasant, clear sound, i.e., THE language." Compare this to most terms that the Aztecs imposed on other ethnic groups, such as the *Altepetl*,[8] discussed in more detail in this article, whom they called the *Cohuixca*, which means "lizard." Other examples of this practice are *otomi* "barbarian," *popoloca* "unintelligible," *chontal* "foreigner," and *pipil* "baby talk." Nevertheless, owing to factors such as greater isolation, lack of rapid communication, and the prevalence of polytheistic societies, the prehispanic situation was probably quite stable in terms of multilingualism, especially when compared to colonial and modern situations.

From the very beginning of their invasion, Spanish *conquistadores* took advantage of Nahuatl's status as a lingua franca, a function that it fulfilled during the whole colonial period and even until the late eighteenth century. It was with the emergence of the Mexican State in the nineteenth century that the most

dramatic shift to Spanish as the national standard language occurred. This shift required displacing a considerable number of indigenous languages (Cifuentes & Pellicer, 1989). Nahuatl was then confined to isolated regions and compartmentalized into the oral realm, thus interrupting its (alphabetic) written tradition. Nevertheless, some communities have found ways to endure and survive, adapting themselves to the ever-changing conditions imposed by the mainstream politics of assimilation. This is very much the case in the region in which we developed our project (Flores Farfán, 1999a,b).

The Nahuas Today

In Mexico today, Nahuatl is still spoken by between one and two million people, depending on one's source. Whatever the exact figure, there is no doubt that Nahuatl is the indigenous language with the largest number of speakers in the country. Nevertheless, this does not mean that Nahuatl is a compact or uniform language with no dialectalization, as is the case with Yucatec Maya in the Yucatec Peninsula. Most Nahua regions have no contact between them, a fact that has, as we have suggested, prompted some authors (Suárez, 1983) to speak of a dozen Nahua languages. Traditionally, these regions cover a vast territory of the Mexican republic, ranging from San Luis Potosí in the North, passing through the central region in and around Mexico City (with its almost extinct dialects), including the state of Morelos, and reaching the southern Mexican states of Oaxaca or Chiapas with small Nahuatl-speaking communities. Moreover, owing to recent migration patterns, one can find Nahuas as far as Sonora in the northern part of Mexico, in Arizona, California, Texas, and even on the US-Canada border. The highest concentration of Nahua population is found in the la Huasteca region. As for the language shift continuum versus language maintenance, the closer one gets to an urban area, the more Spanish influence one finds, as opposed to the isolated rural regions, where the highest Nahua concentration is encountered.

Given the endangered status of all Nahuatl varieties, efforts that meet the needs of language teaching, revitalization, maintenance, and development are particularly important. Even languages as widely spoken as Nahuatl are susceptible to rapid loss. The constellation of factors that produce language shift include:

1. The lack of effective support for the linguistic and cultural resources of Nahuatl-speaking communities.
2. Migration of Nahuatl speakers to cities in Mexico and the United States, where continual contact with Spanish and English speaking populations necessitates the development of sociolinguistic competencies in those languages.
3. The prejudicial attitudes that still exist toward most indigenous languages.
4. The lack of contact of at times extremely reduced numbers of speakers of different isolated Nahuatl dialects. This implies that the actual linguistic community for any one Nahuatl variety is often quite small and thus susceptible to rapid language shift.

5. The swiftly decreasing rate of intergenerational transmission, especially to children.

All of these factors create the scenario for a possible rapid loss of proficiency in Nahuatl within a few generations. In the Balsas region, as in many other areas, one finds all these types of situations.

The Case of the Balsas Nahuas

Balsas Nahuas are located in the state of Guerrero (see Flores Farfán, 1999a). The Balsas region is an area that includes around 20 Nahuatl-speaking *pueblos* with a total population of approximately 50,000 people. The Nahuatl spoken there is generally considered a central dialect, although this is probably an over-simplification. A more precise and specific classification is still required to do justice to the different varieties spoken in the region (Flores Farfán, 1999a). Located along the banks of the Balsas river basin, this is a semi-desert area with low agricultural productivity. This geographical fact has prompted the communities to look for other means of livelihood, such as the production of a number of different types of crafts, including the famous amate (painted bark "paper"), pottery, and carved wooden masks. All these products have become fairly successful in the tourist market. Balsas Nahuas are indigenous entrepreneurs, travelling to almost any tourist site in Mexico, mostly as itinerant merchants, where many individuals sell their crafts.

The Balsas Nahuas are a unique example of an indigenous group that has overcome economic and political threats of extinction. In this sense, speaking of revitalization, maintenance, or development in this region implies speaking of the different survival strategies that the Nahuas have developed in order to oppose complete, at times forced, acculturation, accommodating to the National society's constraints (e.g., the capitalist market's pressures). In this context, the role of schools has been more to promote assimilation rather than to vindicate indigenous languages. Ironically, the successful resistance of the construction of a long planned hydroelectric dam in the region has produced more ethnic unity and linguistic awareness than has any official language policy, no matter how "bicultural" it might claim to be. In other words, the grassroots movement that opposes the State's intention to construct a hydroelectric dam in the Nahuas' territory has had more positive effects in terms of language revitalization and revival than any language planning efforts carried out in the past, no matter how authentic or well intentioned they might have been. Even long before that, there were elements that favoured the use of Nahuatl in the region, especially related to the affirmation of local identities and ritual ties.

In recent times, for economic reasons, a tradition of innovation has emerged in the Balsas region. Trade has reinforced multidialectal competencies between different communities and revealed that dialectal unintelligibility is not an issue for inter-regional communication. Thus, it is likely that for any revitalization, maintenance, and language development programs to become successful, a deeply rooted civil society movement has to be involved (Fishman, 1991). To the

contrary, the Mexican State's official policies toward indigenous minorities have basically promoted transitional bilingualism and an image of indigenous peoples that reproduces and perpetuates a museographical, mystified identity. These policies have little to do with, for example, the Zapatista's distressing realities or the Nahuas Balsas people's struggle to survive.

Yet, as suggested, in the Balsas River valley, there is a great degree of variability in the strength of language maintenance, ranging from total language shift to high rates of language vitality. In the last generation, some communities have suffered a significant loss of their Native tongues in household use, which is a situation that threatens the linguistic competence in Nahuatl of the next generation. Thus, it is extremely important that linguistic research and the preparation of teaching materials begin in those communities with present generations of speakers, something that our present project has started to develop.

Current Efforts to Revitalize, Maintain, and Develop Balsas Nahuatl

This project has gone through different stages. Although it started over a decade ago, it has only been in the last five years that efforts to develop materials and to apply them to intercultural education have become effective. Given the context briefly alluded to, in which schools are thought of as places to acquire Spanish according to community members' expectations, efforts designed to enhance the use of the indigenous languages are not exclusively or even primarily based in schools or on written media. One of the project's goals is to produce a set of materials based on the concept of interculturality. As I have described elsewhere (Flores Farfán, 1999a), the language planning we are currently engaged in works with a variety of media (books, audiotapes, Internet, video) on themes of Nahuatl language and culture, producing popular cultural materials in bilingual form (Nahuatl and Spanish). Most important, such materials are useful to a wide audience, namely, people in the indigenous and mainstream populations looking to establish a respectful and productive dialogue between different sectors of Mexican society, especially with children.

Based on the extensive work previously done on language contact in Mexico (Flores Farfán, 1999b) and on the diagnosis provided therein in terms of language maintenance and shift, two representative communities at the extreme poles of the language shift continuum have been identified. They have been targetted for implementation of pilot revitalization and reversal (Xalitla) and maintenance and development (Oapan) interventions.

Cleofas Ramírez Celestino, a Native linguist and artist, and I have been collaborating for over two decades. As part of our intervention proposal, we have produced (and are in the process of producing) a number of reading and audio materials that we give to the communities for their use in everyday life. In order to do this, we visit the communities during key moments in the pueblos ceremonial life, such as during the Saint Patron's festivities, when most of the community members are in town. In conjunction with local teachers and local authorities, we organize a workshop as part of the celebration, to which the whole community is invited, especially the children. When a considerable num-

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ber of people have arrived for the workshop, we show them the couple of videos in Nahuatl that we have produced.[9] The videos are narrated in Nahuatl and, of course, the workshops are also conducted in the indigenous tongue. We then ask the audience to participate, asking them to tell us if they understood the story or asking them to retell it. This allows us to warm up the atmosphere and produce a non-threatening environment. As an incentive, those who actively participate receive a gift consisting of one of the books or tapes on which the videos are based. We continue the workshop by organizing a riddle contest. Those who guess the riddles also receive prizes in the form of riddle or storybooks along with their corresponding tapes.

All these workshop activities have a number of advantages and are used for different purposes. For instance, the workshops allow us to introduce alphabetic writing through visual means that are culturally sensitive (the amate de historias, "amates that tell stories," which is a Native way of writing) without over-emphasizing literacy while at the same time recreating "old" traditions with new technologies. Moreover, showing the videos also stimulates participants to re-evaluate the cultural traditions and the language using media to which children are particularly attracted. Another interesting outcome of the workshops is the kind of on-the-spot research it allows us to do. Interacting with workshop participants gives us some insight into the endangered status of Nahuatl, especially in communities with which we are just starting to work.

The workshop materials are based on relevant cultural themes and employ genres that are not only familiar, but are also highly valued by community members themselves (e.g., riddles and tales). These materials, such as the amates de historia, are culturally sensitive to the community's own ways of describing their everyday and ceremonial life. What we are doing is adapting older cultural technologies to different new media, following the communities' inclinations toward developing a culture of innovation (Amith, 1995).

The results of this approach have so far been extremely stimulating. Our approach has allowed us to open up new environments for language use, making available a series of language materials for everyday use in the households, which should stimulate intergenerational transmission. It has also allowed us to integrate more Native speakers into the team involved in the production of materials and the implementation of the workshops, including young speakers. In this sense, the atmosphere created by the workshops has enabled us to identify speakers who can reactivate their use of the language, especially adolescents and young children who, from a superficial observation, would otherwise be thought of as monolingual in Spanish. This is especially true in communities with a high degree of language shift, such as Xalitla, where we have witnessed the reactivation of Nahuatl in two young ladies who have now been integrated into the team of actors who narrate the videos in Nahuatl. This is part of an empowering model that we will continue enhancing in the future.

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The Future

Technologies for recording and transmitting texts have greatly improved in recent years and have also become relatively inexpensive. Their ability to create interactive language learning tools and to reproduce audio and written materials and their accessibility will no doubt empower speakers and aid their efforts to revitalize their language through teaching and study, which could eventually lead to maintenance and even development of the use of the Nahuatl language. These are goals in language planning that we have started to realize through a series of activities aimed at developing culturally appropriate strategies to reverse language death.

Because the colonial period documentation on Nahuatl far exceeds that of any other language indigenous to the Americas, work on modern Nahuatl can include comparisons with historical Nahuatl. For instance, dictionaries on contemporary Nahuatl could be produced that compare modern forms to those recorded at the beginning of Nahuatl-Spanish contact in the sixteenth century. Recorded texts based on this rich wealth of data, as well as other pedagogical materials in Nahuatl, could be made readily available not only to researchers and students of the language, but, most of all, to Native speakers interested in preserving and promoting their language and their cultural heritage.

Last, but not least, despite the wide range of experiences of indigenous peoples in different contexts (as migrant labourers, artisans, political activists, etc.), there are virtually no texts that document these experiences in their own language and that depict their modern culture, such as the amate tradition. The viability of the present language can best be enhanced through the development of research and learning materials together with Native speakers, who can give voice to their own language and words and then translate them for use by non-speakers. This would provide a foundation for future efforts directed at Nahuatl language study and maintenance and, most of all, give Native speakers access to both linguistic research and language teaching.

We plan to continue our work by carrying out intensive workshops in the community of San Agustín Oapan—the Balsas River valley community most oriented to Nahuatl—with the participation of Native speakers of the language. During the workshops, we will focus on working with Nahuatl-speaking participants to develop the most suitable orthography for the recording of their language so that materials similar to those already in use in other communities can be produced. We hope that the workshops will lead to intensive work on the recording, transcription, discussion, translation, analysis, and illustration of Nahuatl texts dealing with the Nahuas' culture and language. The materials gathered will complement similar material obtained in the Nahuatl-speaking villages of the Balsas. These materials will be worked on (transcribed, analyzed, and translated) during the field workshops. They will then be edited and prepared for diffusion and pedagogical use in close collaboration with Native speakers after each workshop in Oapan. The Native scholars will subsequently participate as guest instructors in the pedagogical activities in which we are presently involved [i.e., the Nahuatl Language Seminar at Centro de Investigaciones y

Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social (CIESAS) in Mexico City]. These scholars will also form the beginnings of a community oriented team of linguists committed to revitalization, reversal, maintenance, and development initiatives in the whole Nahua region—efforts that are extremely urgent in the face of linguistic and cultural extinction. All of the collected materials will be used in these pedagogical efforts, prepared for publication and distribution, and made available to other Native peoples, as well as researchers.

Notes

[1]As Henze and Davis (1999) state: "There are a number of terms in use to refer to the work of creating more speakers and wider use of a minority language. Some of these are Reverse [sic] Language Shift or RLS (Fishman, 1991), language regenesis, language renewal, language revitalization, language maintenance, and language preservation. While some terms are governed by certain conditions (e.g., maintenance is an inappropriate term for a language that is no longer in use, and preservation may bring to mind... museums rather than a living language), other terms may simply be a matter of preference" (p. 18).

[2]Revitalization is probably borrowed from biology (e.g., in Arizona, the beaver is being revitalized by reintroducing it in the San Pedro River; in Canada, the buffalo has been returned to the Plains by Native tribes), and that is the more precise meaning of the term. But revitalization can also mean different things, ranging from promoting fairly vital living languages, to a use that attributes a negative, mystifying meaning to the word, linked to revivalist movements worldwide (Fishman, 1991). All of this reminds us of the need for more precise definitions of this and related terms. The set also includes "preservation," which for some might have a museographical overtone (see Note 1), "maintenance," "reversal" (Fishman 1991), and "restoration," which implies a dead language. As we will suggest in the case study reported in this article, in a situation where the language is fairly vital, the term "development" is the one that most clearly evokes and lends itself to conscious language planning efforts.

[3]In the Catalan situation, which constitutes one of the most successful experiences of language planning (Fishman, 1991), such a divorce does not really exist (sociolinguistics there is meaningfully conceived and labelled as militant sociolinguistics). Authors such as Aracil criticize the predominant approach of linguistics that overemphasizes language per se (personal communication). For him, this is another form of *ism*, such as academicism, or what he terms *lenguajismo*, which is a label that captures and criticizes the over-emphasis given to language as an abstract, idealized structure and not as an everyday human practice.

[4]Bearing in mind that all languages in Mexico are endangered, three major linguistic families still prevail: (1) Uto-Aztec [beyond Mexico this includes among others Arizona's Hopi, Yoreme (Yaqui), and Tohono O'odam]; (2) Maya (over 30 languages, most of them in Guatemala); and (3) Otomanguean (more than a dozen languages with high degrees of diversification, most of them in Oaxaca (Suárez, 1983).

[5]For a recent detailed study on language politics in Mexico see King (1994).
[6]*Macehualli* "commoner, peasant" and *tlatolli* "speech, discourse, talk."
[7]*Pilli* "member of the dominant group" and *tlatolli* "speech, discourse, talk."
[8]The word *Altepetl* covers much more than what its traditional translation as "city, town" suggests. It refers to a separate ethnic identity defined by clear territorial and political differences, even when comprising speakers of the same language, as is the case of the *Mexicah* and the *Cohuixca* (Lockhart, 1992).
[9]These videos recover the oral narrative and pictographic traditions of the communities (e.g., the opossum, the mermaid, riddles). Together with a team of professionals, and based on Ramírez Celestino's illustrations made *ex profeso* for the videos, we adapt the existent books to a cinematography script to produce high quality digital animation videos using, for example, three-dimensional imagery and other high-tech graphics tools.

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The Languages of Indigenous Peoples in Chukotka and the Media

Galina Diatchkova

This paper examines the history of the development of indigenous people's media in Chukotka. I draw attention to the changes that have occurred with the Native newspaper and the reasons for those changes. I suggest that the newspaper has broadened the social functions of the indigenous languages of the area. I will show how the newspaper interacts with the educational and social organizations, whose purpose is to develop and save indigenous languages, and how it has built up a sense of our language's worth. In this paper, I use the regional newspapers *Sovetskaya Chukotka, Sovetken Chukotka, Murgin Nutenut*, and *Krainy Sever* from 1933 until 2000.

Chukotka is situated in northeastern Asia. In this region, there are such indigenous peoples as the Chukchi (Lauravetlans), Eskimos (Yupik), Kereks, Koryaks, Yukagirs, and Chuvans. The traditional occupations of the indigenous people are intensive reindeer breeding, sea mammal hunting, fishing, and hunting. There are approximately 87,000 people in the region, including 15,000 indigenous people. Of the 15,000, 12,995 are Chukchi (in 1989, 15,184), 1,514 are Yupik (in 1989, 1,719), 113 are Yukagirs (in 1989, 160), 1,155 are Evens (1,336 in 1989), and fewer than 50 are Kereks.

In the first half of the twentieth century, preservation of the indigenous languages of Chukotka was not a problem. The homogeneous ethnic environment, traditional occupations, and the transmission of oral folklore from generation to generation promoted the preservation of indigenous languages. However, the culture of the indigenous languages suffered after the establishment of Soviet power, when Russian culture and the Russian language were promoted as the main objects in the new Soviet society.[3]

At the same time, beginning in the 1930s, the social functions of indigenous languages had broadened due to the development of alphabets, the appearance of the written languages, the rise of the press, and education in indigenous languages in the Chukotka schools in the first part of this century. According to V. Bogoras' research, Chukchi originally had a pictography, which recorded hunting scenes on wooden boards and walrus bones. In 1931, Chukchi Tenevil created the first alphabet, and his Native group used that system.

The first published work in indigenous languages appeared in the nineteenth century because of missionary work. In 1881 and 1894, some texts in Chukchi were published in the Cyrillic alphabet. *Tungus Vocabulary with Prayers* was prepared by S. Popov for Evens in 1858. And in the next year, A. Shiphner produced a grammar of the Evens language. To our knowledge, the core investigations in the indigenous languages were made by V. Bogoras and S. Stebnitsky and later by I. Vdovin, P. Skorik, G. Menovchikov, E. Rubtsova, K. Novikova, and others. This period saw the formation of a literary tradition in the indigenous languages of Chukchi (Lauravetlan), Eskimo (Yupik), and Evens. The dialects of these languages and the phonological and phonetic rules were

determined. The orthography was also developed. The committee on the creation of the new alphabets was situated in the village of Uelen and had its own organ of the press in the publication of the *Lenin Ret* (Chukchi, Lenin Way). Ultimately, written Chukchi was modified for the dialect of the coastal citizens. The first ABC book was *Celgi Kalekal* (Chukchi, Red book) by V. Bogoras, issued in 1932.

After the establishment of Soviet power in Chukotka, the Communists used the public media heavily; at first, they used the newspaper. During the Soviet period, the first printed contributions in the Chukchi language appeared in 1933 in the village Anadyr. Chukchi was the language of communication among all indigenous peoples at that time. The name of the newspaper was *Sovetskaya Chukotka* (Soviet Chukotka), and the circulation was between 700 and 1,000, five times a week.[2] Until 1953, readers could find political information printed in Chukchi in two or three articles, which took up about half a page in total. From 1932 until 1937, written Chukchi used the Roman alphabet in newspaper and literature, but it later switched to Cyrillic. Newspaper articles were published in Chukchi using the newly created alphabet. The subject matter of the first newspapers included the activities of national organizations and women's organizations. Common themes of the times included the struggle against shamans and the bourgeoisie (*Sovetskaya Chukotka* - SC, 1930s).

Apparently, the need to distribute the newspaper and to increase its circulation caused the communists to give subscriptions even to children's organizations. There were many subscription campaigns in which, for example, the pioneers from the village Ust'-Belaya challenged the pioneers from the villages Markovo and Anadyr to see who could get the most adults to subscribe (SC, May 18,1936). Newspapers were posted on public walls in order to distribute information to more people. According to Arishin's report (SC, May 5, 1936), 23 wall newspapers existed in Chukotka: 10 in the Chukchi language, 5 in Eskimo, and 8 in Russian.

Reading and writing were introduced in the 1930s in a campaign to abolish illiteracy. One can read in newspaper SC from May 5, 1936 that the Chukchi and Eskimo (village of Nutepelmino) Levutein, Ekanto, Ainal, Kavak, and Yulak pledge themselves to abolish illiteracy by 1936-37. Advanced schools were announced in Naukan, Yanrakinnot, Sireniki, Enmelen, Uelkal, and Shelagsky.

The newspaper became popular among indigenous people possibly because there were reports like the ones from Tegrinkeu and Taiu (SC, May, 18,1936): Chukchi and Eskimos are interested in the newspaper SC. At the time, Russian was the official bureaucratic language. However, the indigenous people did not understand Russian. So that is why there were reports that demanded that all papers write in the Chukchi and Eskimo languages.

Let us discuss the structure of indigenous languages in the period of the establishment of Soviet power. Political vocabulary like *republic, kolhoz, bolshevik, party*, and *numeral* appeared in indigenous language articles, but these words were in Russian. To my mind, these new words were not understood and recognized by Chukchi because, as V. Bogoras had pointed out, Chukchi did not

like to use foreign words; they tried to compose their own words for new objects. For example, the Chukchi created their own names for new objects such as watches, planes, and so forth.

In the early 1950s, a national newspaper *Sovetken Chukotka* (Ch.SC) in the Chukchi language appeared as the official organ of the Chukotka Regional Committee of the Communist Party URSS and the Regional Body of Worker's Deputies. Although the newspaper was only a translation of the original Russian one, it is necessary to discuss the implications of indigenous people being exposed to print media. The first issue was on May 1, 1953 (three times a week, circulation: 1250).

Originally, all of four pages were in the Chukchi language. This issue informed people that ten graduates from Anadyr Pedagogical College would be working in the village school; among them were M. Einelkut from Khatyrka (Chukchi) and N. Rukaktak from Chaplino (Eskimo). The next article was about students from the Pedagogical Institute in Leningrad; they were Y. Rytkheu, Koravie, and Kergav.

According to the report of S. Goryachkin, the chief of the Department of Education in Chukotka (SC, January 5, 1953), in the times of the Tzars, there were only three schools and only 38 Chukchi and Eskimo could get an education. In contrast, in Soviet times, there were 63 schools in 1952-1954. In 1953 in Chukotka, there were 33 boarding schools and 1,219 pupils. In Anadyr Pedagogical College, there were 129 students, among them 74 Chukchi, 21 Eskimos, 12 Evens, and others. There were 12 evening schools for 736 adults and 10 kindergarten classes. In one of the issues of the newspapers, one could read that the Eskimos Kinok (village Sireniki), Yomron (Naukan), Chukchis Kaletegin (Ostrovnoye), and Rochgina (Schmidt) were the best in education. The Kinok informed people that, in their village, there was a school with visual aids, copy-books, and pens, but there were not enough textbooks. Pupils would study the Eskimo and Chukchi languages in the First Form. In addition to a school, the village had a library, a store, a radio, and electricity.

From the 1930s through to the 1950s, the Communist party employed the Cultural Army (kul'tarmeytsy), who were literate people whose job it was to educate the illiterate. One of the newspaper writers, Rultyneut, informed readers that all members of the Cultural Army had met their commitments to educate up to the Seventh Form in the school in the village of Tavayvaam. In this village, nine members of the Cultural Army had educated 48 individual people (Ch.SC, June 15,1953).

Another writer, Penevie, informed readers that the students of Anadyr Pedagogical College had taken an examination (Ch.SC, June 15,1953). It was typical for the times that students wrote exams in the Chukchi and Eskimo languages. The main examination was in dictation. The students also had to do practicum teaching. For example, Kayo, a student, conducted a lesson on reading in the Chukchi language in the First Form. He used visual aids. At the same time, he explained for people the new Communist Party resolutions (SC, March 3, 1950). The writer N. Roltytval (SC, February 5, 1950) informed readers that

85% of indigenous people in Chukotka were literate and that, in a few years, illiteracy would be abolished. There were 76 schools, one pedagogical college, the Institution for Kolkhoz workers, 65 clubs, and more than 10 libraries and Red Yarangs in Chukotka. It was mentioned that, in 1939, the mostly nomadic people like the Chukchi lived in Yarangas (Chukchi dwelling) and that, in 1950, 80% of the population lived in wooden houses. On the whole, the main subjects of newspaper contributions in the 1950s were about the building of schools and houses, reindeer herding, and Communist Party resolutions.

In the 1950s, the people in villages could listen to the radio. In the written form of the Native languages, one could read many of the loan words from Russian like *percent, ruble, plan, cash-desk, quarter*, and others. The first TV programs aired in 1967 in the town of Anadyr, the capital of Chukotka. One of the Native announcers was a Chukchi woman, E. Guv'ekvine. Now there are some programs in the Chukchi language on TV like Eigiskin (Our Land) News. These programs tell about the culture of indigenous peoples. Radio broadcasts are conducted in the Chukchi and Eskimo languages five times a week, approximately one hour per day.

In the 1950s, the changes in social and economic conditions led to a change in demographics so that the majority were now of Russian origin. There was also increased building of mines and villages. Changes in the social and professional structure of the indigenous people and new directions in language policy had an effect on the indigenous languages. At the end of the 1950s,[4] the focus in public education changed so that education was conducted entirely in the Russian language. The Native languages were studied simply as subjects or were abolished. Indigenous children had to go to boarding schools; their education was in Russian culture (literature, art, history) and Russian language. Such education changed the consciousness of indigenous peoples. These children forgot the traditions of their people and did not want to share in the affairs of their ancestors such as reindeer herding or sea mammal hunting. The indigenous cultures suffered great losses.

The change in language policy had grave consequences. In 1992, only 69 of 176 educators teaching kindergarten spoke in Native languages, and only 26 of those educated the children in Native languages. There is no education on the subject of Native languages in many kindergarten classes according to a Methodist from one educational institution in Anadyr (*Murgin Nutenut* – MN, November 28, 1992). The number of the teachers of Native languages has decreased from 81 in 1991 to 38 in 1998. A spot check of the pupils' writing in 1999 showed that only 16 children out of 147 spoke Native languages fluently; 74 pupils had listening comprehension, but could not speak their Native language; and 57 pupils absolutely could not speak in Native languages (*Krainy Sever* – KS, December 17, 1999).

Like St Petersburg State Pedagogical University, Anadyr Pedagogical College—as the main institution that prepares teachers for Native schools—turns out fewer teachers of Native languages from year to year. The percentage of indigenous peoples' representatives among students in the college is very

low. One teacher at the college, Irina G. Girgolnaut, said that students are speaking Native languages poorly (MN, October 24, 1992). Now there is a lack of teachers for many subjects in the Native (indigenous) schools in Chukotka. Some schools are closed, and some have transferred from secondary to become primary schools. In order to receive a secondary education these days, many indigenous people have to leave their own villages (KS 1990s). This letter was written by one Chukchi woman for a newspaper: "I can't imagine how I could leave my house, my work, my village, river, mountains, which have helped me in my life" (KS, June 22, 1996). She, like many of residents of Native villages, had to leave her home in order to give her child access to education.

In 1999, the Pedagogical College celebrated the 60th anniversary of its founding in 1939. For the period 1939 to 1999, 2,517 students have graduated from the College as teachers of indigenous languages, of Russian, of physical culture, of labour education, and also as tutors for kindergarten students (KS, October 1, 1999). But on whole, the system of education in the region of Chukotka did not solve the problem of preserving the indigenous languages. For the past 70 years of Soviet and post-Soviet education, there have been textbooks in Native languages mostly for the primary school; for the secondary school, there are only programs.

From one decade to another, the number of people with knowledge of their Native language has decreased, and the indigenous people with knowledge of only the Russian language as a first language has increased. This is owing to the assimilation of indigenous peoples to the language and culture of the Russian majority and due to the decreasing social functions of indigenous languages. According to the census of 1979, 19.4% of Chukchi considered the Russian language their mother tongue, as compared to 27.2% in 1989. In 1979, 38.3% of Eskimos considered Russian their mother tongue, and in 1989 that number rose to 43.7%. In 1979, 25.1% of Evens were Russian mother tongue speakers; that figure was 32.7% in 1989.[5] This language assimilation is increasing this decade.

It is important to mention that information about some indigenous problems has been made public through newspapers written by indigenous people. Before January 1, 1989, the Native newspaper *Sovetken Chukotka* was only a translation of the Russian *Soviet Chukotka*. Owing to democratization in the Soviet Union, the indigenous people have experienced newfound enthusiasm. People have made an effort to change the status of the Native newspaper. Beginning in 1989, it became an original Native-language newspaper. This newspaper, with the Chukchi name *Murgin Nutenut* (Our Land) was issued on July 7, 1990. *Murgin Nutenut* was a weekly newspaper with a circulation of approximately 690. In every issue of this newspaper during the first part of 1990s, one could read words of gladness concerning the existence of the original Native newspaper. One woman wrote: "We have to remember that the national pride is to know the Native language and customs" (MN, June 4, 1994). This newspaper was popular not only in Chukotka, but also in the Republic of Yakutia. One reader, Christofor Dutkin from Yakutia, wrote that, "I think, in any case, the newspaper of indigenous peoples has to exist. Thanks to such a newspaper, we learn about language,

culture, and life. The newspaper is the eyes, ears, and consciousness of the people" (MN, May 32, 1992).

The first pages of our indigenous newspaper were in the Chukchi language. From1989 on, the people could read two pages in the Eskimo language,[6] and starting in 1990, one page was in the Evens language. This interesting newspaper reflected the social, cultural, economic, and political life of indigenous peoples in Chukotka. It was a time of indigenous peoples' enthusiasm despite the poor economic situation. In 1990, the Chukotka Association of Indigenous Peoples was organized. In addition, several cultural societies appeared whose purpose was to save the Native languages. These societies included one in my native town Anadyr—Cicetkin Wetgaw (Lauravetlan language, Native Word), one in Eek (Lauravetlan, Light), one in the Providenia district Akhtagak (Yupik), and so on.

But the most dramatic episode happened with the Native newspaper *Murgin Nutenut* in the middle of the 1990s. By a resolution of the governor of Chukotka (A. Nazarov, the first governor to be Russian by origin), the indigenous newspaper was transferred as a supplement to the Russian newspaper *Krainy Sever*.[7] To counter this resolution, we organized a strike committee to save our newspaper. The governor had promised to support the newspaper, but he did not keep his word. Since 1996, *Murgin Nutenut* has been a supplement of the Russian newspaper. Now MN appears twice a month on two pages, mostly in the Chukchi and Evens languages. The social and economic situation of indigenous peoples is critical. Also, in the Russian newspaper *Krainy Sever*, one can read that the indigenous peoples' standard of living is very low. In spite of this, sometimes we repeat the words of one writer: We have to survive.

In conclusion, in the twentieth century, the social functions of the indigenous languages in Chukotka have increased owing to the development of written languages, local press, and broadcasting on radio and on TV.[8] At the same time, language assimilation is increasing because of the language policy and the influence of the Russian majority. The indigenous children are communicating and are educated in the Russian language. The number of indigenous people who consider Russian to be their native language is increasing. Now we have to say that the oral folklore traditions are being lost because, in the family, people are mostly speaking Russian and because Native languages are losing their function as the transmitters of indigenous culture.

The recognition of that loss by indigenous people caused them to found local cultural societies. The first aim of those societies is to preserve the indigenous languages.

The current language situation in Chukotka is typical for all small indigenous populations in Russia, as one can see from a back issue of the Russian newspaper in Chukotka *Krainy Sever* from December 17, 1999. Here is the relevant information:

- 17% of Aboriginals in Russia do not have primary education.
- There is cultural, linguistic, and educational degradation among indigenous peoples due to the destructive policies of the Russians.

From 1933 to 1989, the local press of indigenous peoples in Chukotka was used for Communist Party propaganda. However, it also improved the indigenous peoples' lives and the development of education institutions.

The local press in Chukotka, published only in the Chukchi language until January 1,1989, is an important forum for maintaining the social functions of indigenous languages. It is one of the primary ways of preserving the languages. The Native newspaper *Sovetken Chukotka*, later *Murgin Nutenut*, demonstrated the importance of educational and social organizations to the solving this problem. One can observe this importance in contributions to *Murgin Nutenut* in the first part of the 1990s. *Murgin Nutenut* of that period was the result of the collaborative efforts of a group of Native journalists and writers. It was the original newspaper with consciousness of the independent indigenous population with the idea of saving their traditional culture and language. It was a weekly newspaper written in four languages: Lauravetlan (Chukchi), Yupik (Eskimo), Evens, and Russian. Unfortunately, now *Murgin Nutenut*, as I have mentioned, is a supplement to the Russian newspaper *Krainy Sever*, and the editorial staff has only one Native journalist. This supplement publishes material in the Chukchi and Evens languages twice a month. One day, it could become a newspaper run by indigenous people again. This would happen in a time not only of economic improvement, but especially at a time when the enthusiasm of Chukotka's indigenous peoples is high concerning their own ethnic identity.

Notes

[1]Lauravetlan is the self-designation of Chukchi; Chukchi is the official name given to them by Russian authorities.

[2]*Sovetskaya Chukotka* was a regional Russian newspaper with two or three articles in the Chukchi language (until 1953) and was issued by an organ of the regional committee of the Communist Party from October 28, 1933 until October 28, 1993. In the 1930s, the newspaper was issued five times a week with a circulation of approximately 2,000, which was 6,665 in 1965. In 1993, this newspaper was renamed *Krainy Sever*.

[3]The 1938 Resolution of Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviki) and Soviet Narodnykh Komissarov URSS: "Ob obyazatelnom obuchenii russkogo yazyka v shkolakh natcionalnykh respublik i oblastei." This resolution reduced the role of Native languages in the education system.

[4]1958 "Zakon o shkole." According to this Act, every Native school in Chukotka had to make Russian the language of instruction.

[5](1992). Chislennost' i sostav naseleniya narodov Severa (po dannym perepisi nasseleniya 1989). Tom 1, chast' 1, pp. 182-212, 326-332, 356. Respublikansky informatsionn-izdatelsky tsentr, Moskva.

[6]*Murgin Nutenut* had issued contributions in the Nuuk dialect of the Eskimo language. Most Yupik do not understand this dialect (MN February 9, 1991). Later it became a problem to issue the Eskimo page, and current MN issues are only in the Lauravetlan and Evens languages.

[7]*Sovetskaya Chukotka* was renamed *Krainy Sever* in 1993. The first issue appeared November 4, 1993, and circulation in 1999 was approximately 2,000.

[8]Chukotka regional radio broadcasts in three languages, Russian, Luravetlan, and Yupik, for 3 hours a day, which is 21 hours in a week and 1095 hours in a year. TV programs are broadcast in two languages, Lauravetlan and Russian, for 1 hour per day, which is 510 hours per year (KS, November 26, 1999).

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Newspaper *Krainy Sever,* November 4, 1993–2000

Language Revitalization Using Multimedia

Peter Brand, John Elliott, Ken Foster

At Lau,Welnew Tribal School, students are blending new technology with ancient traditions as they discover exciting ways to revitalize their Saanich language and culture. Using iMac computers and Apple iMovie digital video editing software, students and teachers are producing multimedia instructional materials on a wide variety of subjects relating to their Native heritage.

Situated on Saanich Inlet, just one kilometre from the world famous Butchart Gardens, Lau,Welnew Tribal School caters to two hundred students from four bands on the Saanich Peninsula, 15 kilometres north of Victoria, British Columbia.

Until 1976, Sencoten (pronounced Sunchothun), the language of the Saanich People, was preserved only in oral form. Largely through the efforts of one remarkable man, the late Dave Elliott, a unique orthography was developed, and the language was recorded in written form. In April 2001, the Aboriginal Peoples' Television Network aired a video documentary account of Dave Elliott's work as the finale to a thirteen part series entitled "Finding Our Talk" (See The Dave Elliott Alphabet below).

Today, Dave Elliott's son John is following his father's lead, seeking creative ways to use technology to guarantee the revitalization of the Sencoten language and, with it, the culture of the Saanich People. John is working in partnership with Peter Brand, a computer teacher with the Saanich Indian School Board, in the development of software that enables students to create multimedia presentations using text, audio, and video.

Using a digital video camera, students interview their grandparents and other Elders in their homes. The students then edit the videotapes using iMac DV computers. The edited videos are used as teaching resources in the classroom. They can also be copied and taken home by students as home study projects.

Lau,Welnew students are also using *Vocab*, an easy to use shareware application that enables them to build lists of words in two languages and quiz themselves regularly using their shared lists. A free 30-day trial of this excellent program can be downloaded at <www.cabsoft.com>. To date, students and community members have contributed to the data entry with the compilation of over 190 word lists from all aspects of the Sencoten language.

John and Peter, in association with Cabsoft, recently launched *Vocab LanguageLab*, a multimedia authoring suite that combines the vocabulary database of *Vocab* with an easy to use multimedia presentation suite. Designed for use by learners of any language, this program enables students to combine their own text, video, images, and audio files into instructional presentations to be shared on school computer networks and via the Internet. You can download a free trial at www.cabsoft.com/vll.html.

The Dave Elliott Alphabet

The Sencoten alphabet was devised by the late Dave Elliott. Dave was born on the Wjolelp (Tsartlip) reserve in June 1910. Like many Saanich families of

the day, he fished and travelled throughout the historical homeland of the Saanich People. His family knew all of the places by their original Sencoten names. Dave once said, "I saw how our old people lived before our own speaking system was broken down. Our people were the wealthiest on earth. We needed nothing. We lived in a virtual paradise."

Then in the 1920s came regulations forbidding the Saanich People from fishing, hunting, and gathering food in their traditional lands. Government policies of the day dictated that the families who were struggling to survive had their children taken away to residential schools. There, the Saanich children began to experience denial of the Sencoten language and culture. Over the years, this created a communication gap between those who were still at home speaking Sencoten and those who had begun to be educated and assimilated into the white education system.

In the early 1960s, Dave Elliott became a janitor at the Tsartlip Indian Day School, which was attended by most of the Saanich children. Dave observed a rapid decline in their use of Sencoten and in their knowledge of the language and culture. During the 1960s, the late Phillip Paul led an initiative to establish the Saanich Indian School Board. The Sencoten language was immediately offered as part of the curriculum of the band operated school.

Realizing that, without a method of recording the language, it would eventually be lost, Dave began to write down Sencoten words phonetically. He soon discovered that, upon returning to read previously recorded words, he could not understand what he had written. Dave studied with a linguist and learned the International Phonetic Alphabet and other orthographies. However, there were problems with these writing systems. The main difficulty was that some of the complex sounds of the Sencoten language required numerous symbols to be represented, resulting in long and complicated words.

Dave decided to devise his own alphabet using only one letter to denote each sound. He purchased a used typewriter for $30 and set out to make a Sencoten writing system accessible to his people. During the winter of 1977, the Dave Elliott Sencoten Alphabet was created. In 1978, the Saanich Indian School Board adopted the Dave Elliott Alphabet to help preserve the Sencoten language and history.

Dave Elliott's legacy is a remarkable revitalization of the Sencoten language. Today, Apple iMac computers with a TrueType Sencoten font are used extensively in the teaching of the language, both at Lau,Welnew Tribal School, where it all began, and throughout the surrounding public schools of Saanich School District 63. The BC Education Ministry is advocating similar applications for technology in the fight to revitalize indigenous languages before they are lost.

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Saanich Language Revitalization Project

From Oral Traditions To Multimedia

ŁĀU,WENLEW

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Meeting of the Inuktitut and Yup'ik Family of Languages
May 12, 2000

Guy Delorme (facilitator), Jacques Raymond (author of the report)

The Kativik School Board and Guy Delorme, Pedagogical Counsellor, provided the initiative for the meeting. Mr. Delorme saw the Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Conference as a wonderful opportunity for all the native speakers of Inuktitut present to meet and have a roundtable discussion. There was no official presentation as such; the delegates spoke about the language situation in their region: the state of the Inuktitut language, language programs, language initiatives, the number of monolingual speakers, and so forth. The first one to speak was Sarah Bennett, Co-ordinator of Teaching Services at the Kativik School Board.

The Kativik School Board was constituted under the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement, and it has been given jurisdiction over and is responsible for the elementary, secondary, and adult education in Nunavik.

Delegates from the Kativik School Board opened the meeting with a reiteration of the Board's mission statement, goals, and objectives. There was also an introduction by Sarah Bennett and a welcome statement. The setting was informal (i.e., everybody sat in a circle).

Alaska

There was a delegate from the Athabascan Nations who lives in Fairbanks, Alaska and who speaks Iñupiaq. In Alaska, they are concerned about language preservation. They are including the environment in their curriculum. They teach in a classroom, and then they go out on the land.

The delegate described how there are villages in Alaska with only 400 people. In these small villages, saving the language is an urgent problem for future generations. A language becomes endangered when there are no more monolingual speakers. If the youngest good speakers are largely past middle age, the language is seriously endangered. Young children are losing their language because it is not spoken at home. Young adults need to be taught in their Native language. News bulletins and magazines can be used to help revive the language.

Inuvik (Northwest Territories)

The Inuvik delegates talked about the teaching materials they have in the public school system. They have published children's stories. They also have a database of over 300 recordings and translations, community language programs, curricula that include culture and language, a language curriculum, and a teacher's training program.

Labrador

All the Labrador participants introduced themselves and discussed their teaching initiatives regarding language and culture. Everybody mentioned what he or she was doing to keep the Inuktitut language alive.

Participants from Labrador schools in Goose Bay and Hopedale talked about childcare initiatives at the 2 to 6 year old level on the north coast and language initiatives and obstacles to language development created by the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. They also talked about community radio and television.

There was a delegate from Nain, Labrador. He is from the Torngat Region. He has worked on a translator and interpreter program. He has been involved with Social Services and worked on geology and mineral projects. He talked about an Inuktitut language preservation program and a multiyear agreement they have with the Department of Canadian Heritage, which will come to an end in the year 2002; he hopes that the agreement will be renewed.

There was another delegate from Nain, Labrador who was a language co-ordinator. He is involved in the Labrador Inuit Association. He teaches at the secondary level. He also mentioned that in Labrador there have been no land claim settlements. As well, he talked about how there is no authority specifically responsible for education in Inuit communities and about how language programs should be implemented there.

In Labrador, the level of understanding of Inuktitut is low. Elders speak the language, but grandchildren do not; they cannot communicate with their grandparents. This is a loss. On the other hand, in Nunavut and in Nunavik, the language is strong. A delegate asked about ways to revive the language.

In Labrador, Inuit communities have had Inuktitut as a second language programs and immersion programs. They all require community involvement. English curricula have a worldview of their own. What the Inuit need is a curriculum that includes a perspective relevant to them.

The delegates talked about how all of these language programs cost money, and how the Labrador Inuit do not have any. The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador allows them to operate their own schools and to teach whatever subjects they want as long as they follow provincial programs and hire certified teachers. If they want to do it their own way, they have to pay for it.

First Nations issues have been brought up at conferences. National organizations need to get involved in the process. There is also a need for a national fund on language and education. Human Resources Development Canada has also sponsored some projects.

In Labrador, there are no Elders to respect as far as language is concerned. The Labrador Inuit were the first ones exposed to Europeans centuries ago; their culture has been eroding ever since.

Minnesota

There was a delegate from a private philanthropic organization. His organization funds Native language research in the United States. He is of Yup'ik origin.

He mentioned a Home School System they have in Minnesota, and he wondered whether this system could fit somehow in Canada. In Minnesota, Inuit teenagers quit school and lose interest in their first language at the same time.

After this point, the community must be involved for the students to maintain their interest. Adolescents must find a way to be proud of their language. This starts at the family level and requires good speakers. Adolescents can become the role models for the young kids. A positive buzz must be created around them for language reinforcement to work past adolescence.

Nunavik

According to the Nunavik delegates, their school board set up a committee four years ago to review its mission, its language issues, and its bilingual education system. They want to readdress these issues.

They were also interested to know what models other people were following. The struggle is just starting, and there are more challenges to come. Some parents are complaining about the fact that there is too much Inuktitut in the schools and not enough English. They have started language of instruction projects because new educational models are necessary. These could come from the land of the Inuit (i.e., the Circumpolar Region). The language programs and the school curriculum should follow a more Inuk model: land, resources, history and heritage.

The delegates from Nunavik addressed the following issues:

- The Inuktitut language
- The new vision of the school board
- Inuktitut culture
- Religion
- Parents complaining about the small number of graduates and the lack of survival skills

There was a delegate from Inukjuak who has developed a K-7 reading program and a social studies program, a delegate from Kangirsuk with a lot of experience in education, a delegate from Kuujjuaq who is involved in the training of teachers, and a delegate from the Kativik School Board's teaching services. This last delegate mentioned that the Kativik School Board has had a language policy for twenty years. Now the Board is looking at ways to improve it.

There was a delegate from the teacher-training program. There was also a delegate who has had over ten years of experience in the training of teachers within an institution and who, along with the Teaching Services of the Kativik School Board, developed a Social Studies program. However, the project was not a success because the community as a whole was not involved in the development. There was no heart (i.e., spirit) in the process: "We went wrong. We have developed a good social studies program for the secondary level," the delegate said, "but it has not worked out as planned until now because teachers had not been involved. We have to involve the community in the process. We have to undo what has been done and redefine ourselves."

It was also noted that sometimes the Board hires teachers who are good in languages but who have limited classroom management skills. There are also people with sound language skills who show little interest in teaching; they choose other careers.

Nunavut

The Nunavut delegates talked about the learning centre in Iqaluit, the language arts program, and their long experience as language consultants and co-ordinators. They have published up to now 239 books for children and young adults. They have developed teaching materials, a dictionary in one sub-dialect, a parenting program, and an Aboriginal Head Start Program.

There was a delegate with 11 years of experience in education and with the Teaching Learning Centre (TLC) who has developed a language arts program in Iqaluit for grades seven to nine.

There was an instructor from Rankin Inlet, an author and artist from Pond Inlet, who has developed teaching materials. This person had left the learning centre to develop materials for Inuktitut as language of instruction. There was also a delegate from the Nunavut Department of Education.

There was a delegate from Igloolik who is involved in education, a delegate from Arviat who has developed a language program and published magazines for the Nunavik Department of Education, a delegate from Arviat who works on curriculum development, and two delegates from Nunavut who have been working on computer and Internet projects, including the beginning of a "Living Dictionary."

There was a delegate from Arctic Bay who sits on the Language Commission and a language specialist from that region. There was also somebody with a long career in the teaching of Inuktitut. She is trying to promote Inuit rights and culture in the schools. She is also the co-ordinator of a social development program. She has worked for various Inuit organizations.

One of the delegates talked about how in Cambridge Bay they have an experimental project called *Generation to Generation*; Arctic College sponsors it. It involves parents. In the program, children try to learn like the older generations did. The skills are being reinforced at the community level. The traditional line has become broken for the new generation. It must be restored.

One of the delegates noted that sometimes isolation from other cultures has helped in the preservation process. People create stronger bonds with each other when they have no input from the outside. Outsider input is not very helpful.

There were seven people from Sanikiluaq who were sent to a hostel when they were young. In the past, students had to leave their home community and attend residential schools for the Inuit. The Government of Canada had to provide education to Aboriginal people in order to meet its obligation under the Indian Act. Today, the Government of Nunavut has a project that includes traditions and customs (i.e., knowledge from the Elders) in the curriculum. The Elders are dying, and they are the ones who know the culture, the language, and the traditions. One person mentioned that recordings should be done to prevent the loss of this knowledge.

Industry Canada has a project called *Generations CAN Connect*. Young people are asked to interview Elders. The information is then put on the Internet. This project helps bridge the gap between youth and Elders.

One delegate told how in the early days of Inuit formal education teaching was done with translated texts written from a perspective foreign to the Inuit. Teaching materials should include the knowledge transmitted by Elders—old traditional survival skills. Traditional ways and customs should be brought back into the classroom for students to regain their strength.

One delegate said,

> In Nunavut, we tried translations, but that method did not work. Then Inuktitut became a subject taught at school. Later came teacher training. A new approach was developed in Port Smith. We also have more teachers from the community. Before now, there was no relevant material in the social studies program; the approach had a southern perspective. Now, we have introduced affiliation and kinship into the curriculum; the content is changing rapidly. School personnel are Inuk [i.e., principal and teachers].
>
> The curriculum is out there [i.e., fish and birds]. In the schools, we have asked Elders to do some teaching in the pre-school years. After two years, we already see a difference, and parents are getting more involved.
>
> The old system did not produce any graduates. The proficiency level in Inuktitut was low and that of English was high. We are trying to include games and stories that get students to interact with Elders. Elders come to school when they are invited. Now, there is a place for Elders in the schools.

Another delegate suggested that second language courses could become optional or elective, and students could take pride in their identity. Education is not progressing in the classroom. The link between the past and the present is broken. The learning environment in the schools has a southern perspective. Each community is different and could have its own approach in avoiding language loss.

One of the delegates told his story:

> I was born in Arviat in 1950. I was a teacher and a developer of programs when the Inuit language was as strong as you could make it. Then came the federal schools, and our children were taken away to these schools. We need programs that are given in Inuktitut and an advanced Teacher Training program. Where are the Elders now? True Elders are gone. We have to make a statement about our language and culture.
>
> We could bring our children on the land, in our tents or igloos, to observe a flame, to feel the smoke and the cold. They could observe things, use their various sensory inputs. There could also be a project to observe the clouds. Students learn from the people who speak Inuktitut. In Pond Inlet, we have involved Elders in the development of teaching

materials, and we got their endorsement. It has been a wonderful experience, and we have been able to create a dictionary.

Another delegate suggested to the Labrador delegates that they should tape their Elders before they pass away. Then these recordings could be transferred to CDs or DVDs. The information gathered should be included in textbooks and dictionaries.

Another delegate told her story,

> I'm from Baffin Island. I'm involved in the development of programs [i.e., language curriculum]. We have an immersion program, and my daughter is in Grade 2 and doing very well."
>
> In Rankin Inlet, they teach Inuktitut until Grade six. Parents and the rest of the community are involved at different stages. The process also requires leadership and some form of structure like a Department of Education.
>
> Maybe the Internet can help. Maybe we could avoid cutting the rope at a certain level. The link between the teenager and his or her family or the school is cut at the High School level.
>
> The culture is changing. It started with residential schools. In a context of globalization, we see this phenomenon in India, Thailand, and downtown Toronto. Elders are saying the same thing everywhere: "Why don't we ask kids what they want!" Some solutions can come from radio and television.
>
> We cannot stop the change; we have to adjust, find ways to use these new technologies and to not see them as roadblocks. There are reports now that say that 50% of the Internet content is English, but that it will go down to 8% soon. Let us not forget that it was 100% English at the beginning.

Another delegate described the linguistic and cultural situation in Rankin Inlet:

> I'm a language teacher from Rankin Inlet and a language program developer, but I am also computer illiterate. Inuit have oral traditions, and we must not become too dependent on technology for our traditions. We have a day camp for students that provides an Inuk environment. Needs have changed. We have identified new problems. After a few days at the camp, where children learn affiliation and kinship and old customs, they walk with their heads high. They also learn to respect the environment.
>
> High School is most often the cut off point for language instruction. High School students see Inuktitut as a token language, not as something worthwhile. The camp is just an example of what we can do to help the situation. We start small, and we continue progressively.

Northwest Territories

There was a delegate from Yellowknife who is a Language Co-ordinator. He talked about school education, the issue of funding, and the fact that teaching materials were often translated documents irrelevant to the Inuit's environment.

Russia

There are 1,300 Inuit living in Russia, and Elders are dying rapidly. One delegate told how they need suggestions on how they can preserve their different languages.

There was a Yup'ik delegate, a Chukotka. She is a teacher in Anadyr. There was also a Sirenikski delegate who has published books in Yup'ik. She mentioned that she has three children.

There was a freelance journalist, a native Chukotka. "I am a happy woman," she said. She covers events that are important to the Native People of Russia. She is also the vice-president of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC) for the region. She is also the Chief of an Eskimo Centre in Russia.

There was another Chukotka delegate who was a specialist in grammar and literature.

Germany

There was a student of linguistics from the University of Toronto originally from Germany. She is fascinated by the Inuktitut language family.

Spain

There was a delegate from the Basque Region. He is trying to revive the teaching of the Basque language in Galicia, a region of Spain.

Universities

Brock University: There was a delegate from Brock University who has taught in Quaqtaq and has completed an Ed.D. degree in the teaching of minority languages such as Cree and Inuttitut.

Memorial University: There was a student who is developing a Native and Northern Maintenance Program at Memorial University.

UQAT: There was a delegate from the Université du Québec en Abitibi-Témiscamingue who works on teacher training in Nunavik.

York University: There was a delegate from York University who is part of a team of researchers in Nunavut. They have a project on language of instruction. She mentioned language implementation policies, which require trestment and attitude.

University of Ottawa: There was somebody from Yellowknife who teaches Inuktitut in Ottawa to those who show interest in the Inuktitut language. She has developed a youth curriculum.

Conclusion

There was an acknowledgement of Barbara Burnaby by the facilitator.

Note: Jacques Raymond is a Translator and Interpreter Trainer at Kativk School Board, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

Contributors

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Pauline Alfred is a Native speaker of Kwak'wala from Kingcome Inlet who now resides in Alert Bay, BC. Although she attended St. Michael's residential school in Alert Bay, she maintained fluency in her Native language. She has been teaching Kwak'wala at the elementary level since 1976, and she currently teaches at Tl'isalagi'lakw School.

Grafton Antone, Wolf Clan, was born in 1942 on the Oneida of the Thames Indian Reserve. He learned the Oneida language as a first language and then learned English prior to going to Indian Day School. Grafton worked in Construction Engineering for 12 years. He holds a B.A. from the University of Western Ontario and a Master's of Divinity from Victoria University, University of Toronto. Grafton's ministry with the Council Fire Native Cultural Centre and the Toronto Urban Native Ministries of the United Church of Canada includes the singing tradition of Water Drum social songs, which reinvigorate the spirit of all who listen and dance to the sound of the Drum, the HeartBeat of the Nations.

Anne-Marie Baraby has been working on Amerindian languages for the past 20 years, after having completed her graduate studies in linguistics in the field of Native American language description. She is now doing a Ph.D. in linguistics at Université Laval (Québec City). Ms. Baraby has also worked in the area of Native Education as a linguistics consultant as well as a teacher. During the past few years, she has been working on the standardization of Montagnais spelling systems. She has written a Montagnais verb conjugation guide and is collaborating on the writing of a Montagnais grammar. She is presently a part-time instructor in French grammar in the Département de linguistique et de didactique des langues at UQAM (Montréal).

Ruth Bennett, Shawnee and an Ethnographic Researcher at the Center for Indian Community Development, has taught California indigenous languages at the Johnson O'Malley K-12 Program of the Hoopa Valley Tribe, the Klamath-Trinity Unified School District, and Humboldt State University. Dr. Bennett has a Ph.D. in Language and Reading Development from the University of California, Berkeley, and a Standard Secondary Teaching Credential from San Francisco State University.

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Marion BlueArm currently lives on the Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation in central South Dakota with her husband and five of their eight children. Marion has a teaching degree and a masters in curriculum development with an emphasis in Lakota language studies. She is employed by the University of South Dakota, but she does her most important work outside the university where she and her

husband are working to establish a "language nest" program on Cheyenne River. This program is a Lakota immersion daycare for pre-school age children, and it is geared to the revitalization of the Lakota language.

Peter Brand was principal of a school for Aboriginal students in Central Australia prior to six years of world travel, which culminated in British Columbia, Canada. Peter has taught at the LAU,WELNEW Tribal School for eleven years, collaborating for the past two years with Saanich language teacher John Elliott in the development of computer applications specifically designed for indigenous language instruction. Peter is taking a sabbatical from his teaching position to coordinate the development of a web based indigenous language dictionary for the British Columbia First Peoples' Cultural Foundation. E-mail: pbrand @mac.com

John A. Busch, M.A. and Ph.D. in Sociology from Indiana University. His interests include systems philosophy, sociological theory, and environmental sociology. Dr. Busch has worked particularly with the transformation of industrial to information societies and with the factors that inhibit and promote change in understanding.

Guy Delorme is the Program Officer for the Learning, Employment and Human Development Directorate at Indian and Northern Affairs Canada where he works on education programs and policies. Previously, he coordinated the development of Kativik School Board mission statement and objectives, and developed and coordinated the recreation leadership training program for Nunavik. Guy is currently pursuing part-time graduate studies in Project Management at the Université du Québec à Hull.

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John Elliott studied commercial art before apprenticing as a linguist and cultural historian with his late father, Dave Elliott. John joined the Saanich Indian School Board as a researcher in 1981 and now teaches at the LAU,WELNEW Tribal School. For the past two years, John has collaborated with LAU,WELNEW computer teacher Peter Brand in the development of computer applications specifically designed for indigenous language instruction.

José Antonio Flores Farfán has a Ph.D. in linguistics from the University of Amsterdam. He has co-authored, with Nahuatl speaker and local artist Cleofas Remirez Celestino, a series of materials for children (books, tapes, videos, etc.) oriented towards the maintenance and development of the ethnolinguistic heritage of the Nahuas of Central Guerrero, Mexico. He is at the Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social (CIESAS) in Mexico City.

Ken Foster is a long-time teacher-librarian. He currently work as the Instructional Support Teacher for Technology in the Saanich School District and as an In-service Associate at Simon Fraser University. His major interest and

contribution to the project has been supporting people in the use of digital video as a means of personal and professional expression. As well as supporting this language project, he is also supporting teachers in the school district in the use of video to improve their own instructional practices.

Jule Gomez de Garcia is a linguistics instructor and director of the Center for the Study of Indigenous Languages at the University of Colorado. She specializes in bilingualism, biliteracy, codeswitching, and Native American Language maintenance, revival and documentation programs. She works with Tribal People in New Mexico and Oklahoma.

Anne Goodfellow has been involved in research on indigenous languages since 1991, when she was employed as a education consultant for the Namgis Education Board in Alert Bay, BC, where she helped develop a Kwak'wala-language immersion program. She went on to complete a PhD in linguistic anthropology at the University of British Columbia in 1999, where she currently teaches.

George Guanish was raised in the Naskapi community and is a mother tongue speaker of the language. He has served as the head translator for the Naskapi Nation office since the early 1990s, and he also served as the translator for the first literature published in Naskapi, the "Walking with Jesus" reader series by the Canadian Bible Society. George was the first professional Naskapi translator to follow language and translation training courses for Native speakers, and he continues to serve his community as a resource for language materials and translation services.

Bill Jancewicz moved to the Naskapi community with his family in 1988 to continue a translation project started by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). He was quickly assimilated into the life of the community during the first years of learning the language. In 1992, he was invited to work at the Naskapi Development Corporation head office as a resident linguist, assuming the responsibility for the final editing and production of the Naskapi Lexicon (1994). He has developed computer-based systems for the production, analysis, and editing of Naskapi vernacular texts, and he has served as a training and language resource person for the community until the present.

John Janvier is a Dene Soun'line speaker and Instructor for the Cold Lake First Nation.

Timoti S. Karetu is from the Tuhoe tribe, New Zealand and is the Chair of the Te Kohanga Reo National Trust. He is a Maori language Commissioner—the first to be appointed to this position. He was Foundation Professor of Maori at the University of Waikato. He is a graduate of Victoria University, Wellington, New Zealand. He also holds positions such as Chair of the Aotearoa Traditional Maori Performing Arts Festival Committee and Rapporteur of the UNESCO Advisory Committee on Multilingual Education. His interests include Maori song and dance, with a special interest in the traditional chant, Tribal History, and the Language in all its forms.

Verna Kirkness, Cree from Manitoba, is Associate Professor Emerita of the University of British Columbia. Verna has worked in the field of Aboriginal

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Geneva Langworthy is a graduate student in Linguistics at the University of New Mexico. She has been involved in language planning and language preservation work with the Garifuna community of Central America for six years, working primarily with the National Garifuna Council of Belize. She also provides linguistic support to the language program at Picuris Pueblo in New Mexico.

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Marguerite MacKenzie has worked on Naskapi and the related languages of Cree and Innu-aimun (Montagnais) for the past 30 years. She has participated in training programs for language teachers and supervised grammar, lexicon, and text projects for the various dialects.

David Kanatawakhon Maracle has authored several books on Mohawk grammar, learning materials for adults studying Mohawk, and a Mohawk dictionary, now in a new edition. He also teaches Mohawk at Six Nations, the University of Western Ontario, and Brock University.

Janet McGrath is a language consultant who has since 1979 been involved in preserving and promoting the Inuktitut language through oral histories, translation and community development projects. Since 1975 she has tutored students in Inuktitut and since 1998 has offered language workshops in Ottawa. She grew up in Taloyoak, Nunavut.

Silas Nabinicaboo was raised in the Naskapi community and is a mother tongue speaker of the language. Hired under a job creation program to work as a translator at the Naskapi Development Corporation in early 1996, he has followed a number of language and translation training sessions during the course of his employment and has made remarkable progress in his ability to process Naskapi and English texts on the computer. He is gaining respect both inside and outside his community as a Naskapi language specialist.

Tessie Naranjo is a tribal member of Santa Clara Pueblo with a Ph.D. in sociology from the University of New Mexico. From her home base, Santa Clara Pueblo, she consults with museums, educational institutions and other native communities. Her pueblo values and beliefs determine how she lives and works in the world.

Sheilah Nicholas, Hopi, is a Ph.D. candidate in American Indian Studies at the University of Arizona. Her areas of interest include cultural preservation, tribal history, language revitalization/maintenance/preservation, American Indian Studies and American Indian women. She is an active participant in the American

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Maureen Olson is the Bilingual Program Co-ordinator and Jicarilla language teacher at the Dulce Elementary School. The Jicarilla Apache Language Immersion Summer Day Camp (JALISDC) is part of an effort to revitalize the Jicarilla Apache language. A member of the Jicarilla Apache Tribe, Mrs. Olson received her B.A. in Elementary Education from Fort Lewis College in 1984. She later earned an M.A. in Education and an Educational Administrator's certificate from the University of New Mexico.

Donna L. Paskemin, M.Ed., a Nehiyaw/Plains Cree, was raised on the Nakiwacihk/Sweetgrass Reserve, Saskatchewan. She has been the Assistant Professor for Cree Language at the University of Alberta since 1997. Her research interests include oral traditions/history, Treaty 6, traditional women's roles, sacred place names, and Nehiyawewin/Plains Cree language and literacy development. She finds that her working relationship with her Father Myron and the continued support from her Mother Hilda have added to both her personal and professional growth. She wishes to continue integrating the traditional Nehiyaw/Plains Cree philosophy and teachings into her own work in the academic world.

Myron A. Paskemin is a Nehiyaw from Nakiwacihk, a Plains Cree from Sweetgrass, Saskatchewan. He was born many years ago on his Mother's reserve, Poundmaker. There, he was taught from the oral traditions as he was cradled in his traditional moss bag. He has been an Elder for the School of Native Studies, University of Alberta for the past few years. He has given numerous lectures on traditional Nehiyaw protocol, self-government, and oral history. The City of Edmonton awarded him an Elders Distinction Achievement in recognition of his efforts with First Nations people in Edmonton in 1999. He was involved with the Canadian Indigenous/Native Studies Association (CINSA) conference hosted by the School of Native Studies, University of Alberta in May of 2000. His lectures on traditional Nehiyaw protocol will be published in the conference proceedings. We hope you enjoy his pre-contact stories in this edition!

Francene Patterson is of the Tuscarora Nation. She has attended the American Indian Language Development Institute at the University of Arizona and the State University of New York at Empire State College. Currently finishing a B.A. in Native American Linguistics, she has taught the beginners adult Tuscarora language classes for over twenty years, as well as grades K-6 for several years. She is also involved in the Tuscarora Language Committee, a grassroots language advocacy program on the Tuscarora Nation.

Jacques Raymond has a Master's Degree in translation from the Université de Montréal, a BSL (Languages) from Laurentian University, a Certificate in FSL Teaching from Université de Montréal, and a Cambridge Proficiency Certificate. He was a professor of French as a second language for more than ten years and has been a freelance translator since 1982. He developed a Competency-Based Inuttitut Translation and Interpretation Program for the Kativik School Board. The Program has been accredited by the Quebec Department of Education. He is presently working on specialized modules in translation and interpretation

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Sally Rice is an Associate Professor in Linguistics at the University of Alberta where she researches and teaches in the field of syntax, semantics and child language acquisition

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Te Tuhi Robust, Masterate in Education (hons.), University of Auckland, New Zealand, is the Executive Assistant to the Pro Vice Chancellor (Maori) of the University of Auckland and is a former principal of a bilingual school (Maori and English). Te Tuhi has extensive experience based on Kaupapa Maori/ Maori philosophy and practice. He is Chair of a Maori hapu/ subtribe trust whose activity includes iwi/ tribal development that specifically focuses on its relationship to the Crown. His most recent research in Maori education has extended his previous analysis of government policy and its impact on the Maori community.

Blair Rudes has produced various reference works on the Tuscarora language including, most recently, a Tuscarora-English dictionary. He is presently compiling a dictionary of the Catawba language from manuscript sources. He is an Assistant Professor in the English Department at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte.

Inée Yang Slaughter is Executive Director of the Indigenous Language Institute (ILI). Prior to ILI, she was Executive Assistant to the Director of the Getty Conservation Institute in Los Angeles (1983-1989), in charge of international cultural heritage conservation projects. She has worked in the fields of medical research (UCLA Laboratory for Kidney Transplant Research), and design and fine arts (graphic and interior design, consultation for artists). She has served as executive Director of ILI since September 1995. She brings to ILI her personal multilingual teaching and acquisition experiences and profound affinity for indigenous peoples.

Robert N. St. Clair, M.A. University of Washington in Romance Languages, M.A. University of California, San Diego in Linguistics, and Ph.D. in Anthropological Linguistics at the University of Kansas. His interests are the sociology of language, systems theory, cognitive linguistics, and sociological theory. Dr. St. Clair has worked in the development of bilingual education programs in the Pacific Northwest; and he has worked with many different cultural groups (Polynesian, Asian, Hispanic, and Indigenous groups in North America).

Juliet Thondlana is a lecturer in Linguistics and Communication as well as Head of the Department of Linguistics at the University of Zimbabwe, Africa. She has research interests and has published in the areas of Sociolinguistics and Communication at the workplace including Intercultural Communication.

Lois Provost Turchetti was born in Xaymaca (Jamaica) in 1955 of many nations. She learned the Jamaican Language and English at home and later learned

Spanish at school. Lois worked in Marketing for 15 years. She holds a Creative Writing and Humanities B.A. from York University and is currently an M.Ed. Philosophy candidate at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto. Her focus is Oral-Aural Tradition Philosophy of Learning and Archaeoliteracy. Lois began mythtelling in 1991, concentrating on intercultural relations through the *Global Indigenous Storyarts* where "earth" becomes "heart" by putting the first last and the last first.

Shirley Ida Williams is a member of the Bird Clan of the Ojibway and Odawa First Nations of Canada. She is an Associate Professor at Trent University and teaches language and culture in the Department of Native Studies. Shirley is a consultant to and sits as an elder at Sweetgrass, First Nations Language Council, for the Woodland Cultural Centre, Brantford, Ontario. She has travelled to many Native communities and many universities giving lectures, seminars, and workshops on various Native issues including language and culture. She has published a book *Aandeg* meaning "The Crow" and has translated Lenore Keeshig-Tobias's book called *Bird Talk*. She has also translated a pamphlet for the Government on Breast Cancer. Shirley has numerous projects in the works such as the R.N.L. project (the Revitalization of the Nishinaabemowin Language), the Lexicon Dictionary, which is a collection of Ojibway and Odawa words organized and presented by themes, Language Textbooks, a Language Instruction Program on CD with spell check, Cross-word Puzzles, and Flash Cards (these are a set of coloured flash cards which help the students to associate the Nishinaabe word with a picture of the item).

Valerie Wood is a project Co-Director for the Daghida project and Dene Soun'line speaker from Cold Lake First Nations. She has a B.A. from the University of Alberta with a major in Anthropology and a minor in Linguistics.

Akira Y. Yamamoto, professor of Anthropology and Linguistics at the University of Kansas, has worked with the Hualapai Indian community for the past two decades. He continues his work with various language projects in Arizona and Oklahoma. He is active in bringing together language and professional communities for effective and long-lasting language and culture revitalization programs. He chaired the Linguistic Society of America's Committee on Endangered Languages and Their Preservation.

Ofelia Zepeda, tribal member of Tohono O'odham, is a professor of Linguistics at the University of Arizona in Tucson, Director of the American Indian Language Development Institute and a community leader in the Tohono O'odham language projects. She is also an accomplished poet/writer, author of several publications including her book of poetry titled *Ocean Power: Poems From The Desert*. She is the recipient of the prestigious MacArthur Fellowship 1999 for her work in revitalizing Indigenous languages.

Since 1994, the Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Conferences have provided an unparalleled opportunity for practitioners and scholars dedicated to supporting and developing the endangered indigenous languages of the world, particularly those of North America, to meet and share knowledge and experiences gained from research and community-based practice. They have created a forum in which Indigenous people involved with work on their own languages feel comfortable about coming together with academics from this field to discuss issues common to them both. The conferences were established through leadership at Northern Arizona University and carried on through the voluntary efforts of academics and universities that have hosted the meetings. The twenty-seven papers in this volume are from the seventh conference held in Toronto in May of 2000.

The papers in this volume describe indigenous language efforts in Canada, the United States of America, New Zealand, Zimbabwe, Mexico, Russia, and the Caribbean. They are divided into six sections: Broad perspectives and policy, language and whole community development, educational advances, languages and literacy development, the media, and the meeting of Inuit and Yupik participants. The papers discuss issues such as bilingual education, adult education, literacy, teacher training, orthography and dictionary development, the role of religion and culture, and language planning and advocacy strategies.

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